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THE REAL JAPANESE QUESTION

BY
K. K. KAWAKAMI

WHAT JAPAN THINKS
JAPAN IN WORLD PEACE
JAPAN IN WORLD POLITICS

THE REAL JAPANESE QUESTION

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K. K. KAWAKAMI

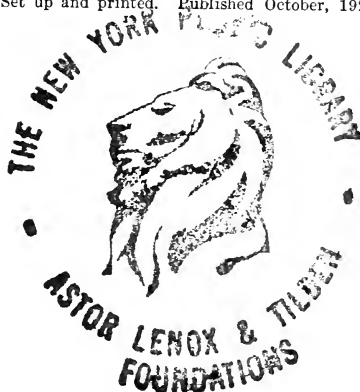
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TO
ALBERTA CLARKE KRISTOFERSON

PREFACE

This is a book of optimism based upon facts. It presents no gloomy picture of the Japanese in America. Nor does it sound an alarmist note as to the future relations between our two countries. On the contrary it believes in the innate capacity of the Japanese to live harmoniously with the Americans, and their ability to emerge happily from their present plight incident to an organized campaign of slander and fabrication that has been directed against them during the last several years. It entertains faith in the sound common sense which will enable the leaders of the two peoples to arrive at an amicable solution of the question so befogged by this propaganda.

The author extends no helping hand to anti-Japanese agitation. He would fain leave that "noble" task in the able hands of Messrs. Phelan, McClatchy, Johnson, Hearst, Crothers *et al* and their "holy" allies the newspapers of California. He uses sparingly such data as may advance the cause of Phelanism or McClatchism, not because he is insensible to the deficiencies and faults of his countrymen in America, but because such

weaknesses on the part of the Japanese have been so unduly and so industriously exploited by the other side that even cursory reference to them in this book seems unnecessary and superfluous. People are not lacking who are so gloomy in temperament, so mean in disposition, that they prefer to see the dark side of things to the exclusion of the bright side. This humble book aims to throw a shaft of light into a sphere darkened by such people. Whether it has succeeded in the attempt is of course a different matter.

The author believes in the innate goodness of the American heart as well as the essential soundness of the American mind, and this in spite of his seven long years in California! During those years he could not help seeing the American people at its worst. He has painfully observed, or has been brought into direct and galling contact with, certain elements, mercenary, treacherous, double-dealing, unscrupulous in promoting selfish ends, ruthless in making capital of the predicament of the weak and powerless.

At the same time, he has become intimately acquainted with men and women, public-spirited, high-minded, self-sacrificing, and fearless in voicing their convictions. In contrast to the meanness of the self-seeking politicians and agitators, the nobleness of such men and women stands out in relief more prominent than under ordinary circumstances. The agitators, callous

to ideals, scorning at self-denial, unaccustomed to do anything without expecting material return, cannot fathom the minds of those courageous Californians who have come forth to aid the Japanese against their campaign of abuse and slander. In imputing motives to these Californians, the mercenaries simply confess their baseness and pruriency.

The author hopes to forget the sordid and self-seeking, remembering only the noble and self-sacrificing. Though he has learned to see America without the glamour which he had himself cast about her in his boyhood days—though he has ceased to look upon her as an apotheosis of justice and humanity, he is neither disillusioned nor disappointed. On the other hand he is thankful that the trying years he has spent in California have revealed to him the best, as well as the worst, elements of the American people, thus affording him an opportunity to know that America, like the rest of the nations of the world, is made up of men and women who are neither superhuman nor subhuman but just simply human. As Burns once sang, "A man's a man for a' that," I can now say, "A nation's a nation for a' that."

Only a word in conclusion. No one denies that the contact of different peoples and civilizations is liable to create friction. But the unalterable fact is that the West has gone to the East, and

the East has in turn come to the West. And it was the Western gun which battered down the doors of the East. The only sensible and honorable course which East and West should now follow would be a course of mutual concession, of mutual tolerance, of "live and let live." The author is certain that in the end the responsible leaders on both sides will solve the question without straying far from that course.

K. K. KAWAKAMI.

NEW YORK, JULY, 1921.

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THE REAL JAPANESE QUESTION

CHAPTER I

THE "JAPANIZATION" OF HAWAII

"The picture of industrious contentment has made many a visitor from California exclaim over the contrast between the Chinese in Hawaii and the kind that has settled in California. But the man is the same, often coming from the same village and district, and even from the same family; the difference is that the best has been drawn out in Hawaii, while the sister Commonwealth, by repression and cruelty, has developed his baser qualities. While he has been subject to revilings and physical abuse in California, in Hawaii he has had opportunities for labor and self-improvement, spiritually and intellectually, as well as materially and financially. The generous treatment given him by missionaries in private schools was continued in the public schools under conditions favorable to his best development. He has lived on terms of pleasant amity, both receiving and giving in return."—PRESIDENT ARTHUR F. GRIFFITHS, Oahu College, Honolulu.

One of the trump cards in the hands of anti-Japanese propagandists is the grim picture which they paint of the "Japanization" of Hawaii. No Californian, arguing against the Japanese, fails to point to that picture and warn that his state must never become a second Hawaii.

True, Hawaii has a serious problem in the presence of a large number of Japanese. But the Americans must not forget that the problem was created not by the Japanese, but by the Americans themselves. They must also remember that the circumstances which have made the Japanese the preponderant element in the Hawaiian population do not exist in California, much less in any other part of this continent.

The formal annexation of Hawaii took place in July, 1898, but its American control began much earlier. Mr. Woodrow Wilson, in his "History of the American People," gives us the following frank description of the American occupation of the islands:

"The Hawaiian Islands were subject to a sovereign queen whose power had been reduced by constitutional changes to the merely administrative function of executing the laws passed by a representative chamber, to which, and not to herself, her ministers were responsible. Property and political power in the Islands had, by processes which seemed to change the very character of the kingdom, come chiefly into the hands of foreigners; and in January, 1893, the queen determined to promulgate, upon her own sole authority, a new constitution which should deprive them of the suffrage and bring the legislature again under the control of the crown. The foreigners at Honolulu, the capital, chiefly

Americans, at once bestirred themselves to defeat her purpose and get the government into their own hands, and the resident minister of the United States lent them his open aid. Marines and pieces of artillery were ordered on shore from a United States man-of-war lying in the harbor; under their protection a revolutionary provisional government was set up which thrust the queen aside 'until terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed upon'; and on the 16th of February, 1893, but a little more than two weeks before the expiration of his term as President, Mr. Harrison hurried a message to the Senate submitting an annexation treaty and recommending its ratification. Meanwhile, on the 9th of February, the minister of the United States, at Honolulu, acting without instructions, had proclaimed a protectorate of the United States over the islands."

In the few decades preceding the annexation the Americans had been operating sugar plantations in the islands, importing Oriental laborers in large numbers.

In 1868 the first steamer from Hawaii appeared in Tokyo Bay to recruit Japanese laborers for the sugar plantations. The Sunrise Empire had been opened to foreign intercourse only a decade, and the people had known nothing of the plantations in Hawaii. So they took but

little interest in the announcement, but a small number, less than fifty, were induced to sail. That was the beginning of the Japanese "invasion" of Hawaii.

And yet the men who so earnestly invited Japanese "invasion" treated the pioneer "invaders" from the Orient in no generous manner. There is no doubt that these early laborers met brutal treatment at the hands of the plantation overseers. Rumors of inhuman treatment, somewhat exaggerated as they traveled across the ocean, reached the Japanese authorities, who despatched a vessel to Hawaii and recovered the laborers who had been taken there. That ended the prelude to the Japanese usurpation of Hawaii, for the Mikado's Government saw no wisdom in sending immigrants to a country where they were likely to be subjected to maltreatment.

But the sugar interests did not give up the scheme so easily. In 1884, when an interval of sixteen years had dimmed the memory of the unhappy experience of the early immigrants, the planters induced the Hawaiian Government to approach Japan with a view to resuming the importation of laborers. The Mikado's Government, with due regard to its dignity, declined to enter into any agreement which would make of it a sort of labor agency, but consented to connive at the emigration of laborers in a tentative way. That resulted in the introduction of 953

Japanese. Again the result was unsatisfactory, and the Tokyo Government once more suspended emigration to Hawaii.

For the third time the planters, through the Hawaiian Government, made earnest efforts to persuade the Japanese Government to open the doors for emigrants. Japan was in no mood to lend ear to the representations of the planters, but the latter's repeated solicitations finally resulted in a labor convention between her and the Hawaiian Government. By that time Japan had perceived the necessity of a formal agreement of a nature to prevent the ill treatment of Japanese laborers upon the plantations. The convention was concluded in March, 1886, and a few more shiploads of Japanese laborers were brought to the islands. And yet news of abuse and inhuman treatment did not cease to filter out of the islands. The administration at Tokyo, weary of handling the perplexing problem, declined in 1891 to renew the convention of 1886.

By this time, however, many agencies had sprung into existence in Japan for the purpose of promoting emigration to Hawaii. They were subsidized by Hawaiian planters, and made much profit by squeezing emigrants. Through the combined efforts of the sugar interests and the emigration companies, the Japanese Government was once again coaxed to reënter into a convention with the Hawaiian Kingdom. All these

events occurred before the annexation of Hawaii by the United States.

The annexation naturally terminated all the labor conventions entered into by the defunct kingdom, for the Republican Government could not permit the importation of contract labor.

The liberation of the Japanese plantation hands, which was the logical outcome of the abolition of the contract-labor system, inevitably resulted in their exodus for the mainland, where wages were higher and conditions of labor much more agreeable. The planters, alarmed by this fresh development of the labor situation, resorted to every means, except the increase of wages, to stop the tide of emigration. They persuaded the Territorial Government to enact a law imposing an annual fee of five hundred dollars upon each emigration agent recruiting laborers in Hawaii for the Pacific Coast employers.

The embarrassment caused by the emigration of Japanese laborers for continental United States was coupled with the difficulty resulting from what the planters reproachfully called the "aggressiveness" of these laborers. As a matter of fact their aggressiveness was nothing but a legitimate and just desire to be treated as any human being should be treated. They wanted decent living quarters as well as a scale of wages commensurate to the services they were rendering. They had been awakening to the sense of

human rights, but had been unable to give expression to that sense with effectiveness, as long as they were bound hand and foot by the old system of contract labor. In the annexation of Hawaii by the greatest democratic nation in the world those semi-slave laborers from the Orient saw the light of salvation. With contract labor forbidden, they began to breathe more freely. Their "aggressiveness" was the immediate result.

When the gentlemen's agreement was concluded between Japan and America Japanese immigration to Hawaii became a negligible quantity. In 1907 no less than 20,865 Japanese arrived, the highest peak in Japanese immigration to the islands. With the gentlemen's agreement, operating effectively by 1909, the number fell to 1,679. (See Appendix C, Table 1.) As is generally understood, that agreement was intended to apply only to continental United States. The planters were, of course, opposed to its application to Hawaii, for they were in need of Japanese labor. But the Government at Tokyo voluntarily extended its enforcement to the islands, which caused great embarrassment to the planters.

So much for the importation of Japanese labor. In the light of its history, the reader must see the absurdity of the canard—so industriously exploited by Mr. Phelan and his allies, of the Japanese "usurpation" of Hawaii. He must see

that it was the Americans who compelled the Japanese, by all sorts of devices, to "invade" and "usurp" the islands.

It was an inevitable outcome of the labor policy followed by the Hawaiian Government and planters that the population of the islands has become largely Japanese. The 1920 census shows the following composition of this population: Hawaiian, 23,723; Asiatic Hawaiian, 6,955; Caucasian Hawaiian, 11,072; Portuguese, 27,002; Porto Rican, 5,602; Spanish, 2,432; other Caucasian, 19,708; Chinese, 23,507; Japanese, 109,274; Filipino, 21,031; Korean, 4,950. (For further detail see Appendix C, Table 2.)

With all these divergent ethnic elements, Hawaii has no race problem, as the Americans there proudly tell us. Perhaps the statement is too sweeping, for there are various problems arising out of the contact of the races. But if the term "race problem" is used in the sense of "race hatred," certainly Hawaii has reason to be proud of its absence.

One naturally wonders how Hawaii manages to avoid conflict of races, while California, where Americans are far more firmly entrenched than in Hawaii, is constantly harassed by agitation against Orientals. Hawaii has only 54,744 Caucasians of whom only 19,000 are of the Anglo-Saxon stock, as against 132,781 Chinese and Japanese, whereas there are in California

3,300,000 Caucasians as against 70,000 Japanese and 36,000 Chinese. And yet the Americans in the Territory are perfectly sanguine as to their ability to maintain their civilization and ideals unaffected by alien races, and their capacity ultimately to assimilate them and make them loyal citizens of the Republic. For this peculiar complacency and conviction various circumstances are responsible.

The first of these is perhaps the abiding influence of the missionaries who opened the country to civilization. In no other part of the non-Caucasian world has modern missionary enterprise effected so much social and political good as in the Sandwich Islands. Beginning with 1822 missionaries poured in from the United States, and through their labors the Hawaiian language was for the first time reduced into writing. Schools were established, laws were codified, public works were undertaken, and in 1840 King Kamehameha IV was induced to grant a liberal constitution. In all these reforms the missionaries were chiefly instrumental. Ever since that time their influence has been strongly felt among all classes of people and in every phase of life. The example of charity and love set by the missionaries has in the main been followed by other classes. To-day many of the pioneer missionaries have already passed into the unknown beyond,

but their descendants have not as a rule deviated from the traditions bequeathed by their fathers.

Equally significant is the fact that before the advent of Chinese and Japanese the Americans in the islands had long been in contact with dark-skinned people. The native Hawaiians, numbering some 140,000 when found by the missionaries, were not only dark-skinned but semi-civilized. Dr. Anderson, one of the first missionaries in the archipelago, went so far as to say that the Hawaiian nation was composed of thieves, drunkards, and debauchees, and the people who were slaves to the sovereign. Compared with such people Chinese and Japanese laborers imported to the islands must have appeared far superior in every respect. The Americans who had befriended even the semi-savage natives had little reason to cherish prejudice against these newcomers from the Orient.

When Oriental labor was introduced into the archipelago there was no white labor with which it could come in competition. "For, in spite of much theorizing to the contrary," says an American editor and educator in Hawaii, "bitter experience has amply demonstrated to the Hawaiian planters that the white man will not work on the plantations." True, there were Portuguese who were paid higher wages than Oriental laborers, but the plantations were always suffering from labor famine to such an extent

that neither the Japanese nor the Chinese ever displaced any Portuguese. This absence of competition among laborers of different races is undoubtedly one of the facts which accounts for the amicable relations existing among the many races in the Territory.

The most interesting subject of study relating to Hawaii is its educational institutions, public and private. Until one visits one of these schools and observes boys and girls of all races studying together in classrooms, one cannot fully understand why Hawaii is the "melting pot of the races." "In these schools," says Mr. Henry W. Kinney, for many years editor of a newspaper in Hilo and formerly superintendent of public instruction of the Territory, "the absence of racial or national lines is remarkable. Children of various races mingle, with the most perfect unconsciousness of racial differences. The common language, English, and common loyalty to the American flag weld them into an organic school community." (*The Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1920.)

It is indeed inspiring to see children of all these different races freely mingling with one another either in study or in play, with no knowledge of race hatred or prejudice. The personnel of the teaching force is even more interesting. Here is an army of teachers commanded by Americans but consisting of members of many

racés—Americans, Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, part-Hawaiians, and Japanese. The Japanese teachers are girls born and educated in Hawaii. If the assimilability of the Japanese needs substantiation, no finer example can be found than these thoroughly Americanized Japanese school-teachers in Hawaii. In manner, in bearing, in deportment, there is in them nothing that suggests their sisters in the Mikado's land. In no country where race prejudice prevents sympathetic and equitable treatment of aliens is such complete assimilation of an Oriental race possible.

The good example set by the missionaries in the field of education cannot be too highly appreciated. By the advice of the early missionaries and through their organizing power, the king and legislature, under the old régime, made provision for the establishment of public schools, which formed the foundation of the present system of education in the Territory. Besides assisting in the inauguration of public schools, the missionaries established private schools based upon the Christian principle of love and fraternity. Of this enterprise Oahu College and the Mid-Pacific Institute, both at Honolulu, are noble monuments. The Normal and Training School at Hilo, though not a missionary enterprise, is also animated with Christian ideals.

With all the educational facilities afforded in the islands, there is much room for improvement in the equipment of schools. The Territorial College is far from what it should be, while the rural schools are not well appointed. In some villages public schools are housed in small buildings belonging to Japanese Christian or Buddhist missions. Many of the village or plantation schools maintained by the Territory are not as attractive in appearance as some of the schools maintained by the Japanese. Such a state of things is extremely deplorable. In every village where schools are needed the Territorial Government should build respectable, even imposing, schoolhouses, which should, in the eyes of immigrants and their children, stand as symbols of the advanced civilization of the American nation. They should be shrines where children of aliens enter with a sense of reverence. In such villages as those in Hawaii schools are almost the only institution which suggest anything of civilization; the rest consists of plantation camps and cane fields.

It is fair to recognize the credit due the Japanese in Hawaii for the amicable relationship existing between the American residents and them. They are making genuine and earnest efforts to promote harmony and friendship with the country of which they have become part and parcel. A few examples will prove this point.

In November, 1919, the Japanese born in Hawaii petitioned the Japanese Government, urging it to take prompt steps to solve the question of dual citizenship by releasing American-born Japanese from all obligations to Japan. The petition was a lengthy statement, making it plain that the Hawaiian-born Japanese wished "to show that men of Japanese ancestry can be as loyal to the country of their adoption as men of other ancestry residing in Hawaii."

In January, 1920, these Hawaiian-born Japanese addressed another petition, this time to President Wilson, asking for his good offices in obtaining the desired revision of the nationality law of Japan, so as to absolve them entirely of Japanese nationality. (For fuller discussion of this question, see Chapter XI, "Dual Citizenship.")

When, as a result of the world war, the question of foreign language schools in America was seriously discussed, the leading Japanese in Honolulu took the initiative in securing the necessary reformation of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii. Their plan was so reasonable that it was promptly approved by the leading Americans in Hawaii and was readily accepted by the Territorial legislature. The details of this action will be described in the chapter on the Japanese language schools. (See Chapter IX.)

Again, on April 9, 1921, the leading Japanese

in Hawaii, meeting in conference, adopted the following resolution:

"We are of the firm opinion that the peace and prosperity of the Pacific depends upon the maintenance of cordial relations between the governments and peoples of the United States and Japan.

"We pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to maintain such relations, and discountenance acts, utterances and printed statements tending to disrupt them. We know of no essential differences between Japan and the United States.

"The so-called differences are in the main misunderstandings, the basic reason for which is the difference in language and the consequent difficulty of expressing our understanding of the desires, motives and aspirations of the two peoples.

"Disagreements between laborers and employers should not involve an issue on race lines, and we hereby denounce and repudiate attempts which might have been made in the past to create a race issue. We pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to prevent such an issue in the future."

Although relations between the Americans and the Japanese in Hawaii have been on the whole amicable in the past, we must not close our eyes to the delicate situation which the future may have in store for them. Both the Americans

and the Japanese must fully realize that situation and make redoubled efforts to forestall any untoward change in their relations that have been so happy.

That their relations will become increasingly delicate is clearly shown in the following passages quoted from the "Survey of Educational Conditions," published in the spring of 1921 by the Department of the Interior:

"It is clear that 12,216 Hawaiian-born Japanese will have become old enough to vote by 1930; 22,921 will have been added to the list of eligibles by 1940, making a total of 35,137 during the twenty-two years' period. Deducting 13 per cent. to cover possible losses by removal and death, there remains an aggregate of 30,857 by 1940, including 287 now registered.

"The present Hawaiian electorate is 19,837, which is increasing, exclusive of Japanese, at the rate of 685 a year. By 1930, it is estimated, there will be 28,057 voters, exclusive of Japanese, and 34,907 by 1940, while the Japanese voters will number 10,915 in 1930 and 30,857 in 1940."

In the face of such a situation as this, it requires greater forbearance, greater tolerance and greater good will on the part of Americans and Japanese, if their relations are to be as amicable in the future as in the past. Let us hope that the Americans will remain faithful to the traditions of generosity and tolerance which they and

their fathers have so fortunately established in the islands. With that tradition carefully preserved and fastidiously observed by them, I am certain that their Japanese fellow citizens will not fail to appreciate and respond to their friendly spirit.

CHAPTER II

THE "HAWAIIANIZATION" OF THE PACIFIC COAST

"The Japanese have never been servile; that is the secret of the dislike for them felt by Western peoples, accustomed to treat the Oriental as if he were outside the protection of law. 'You cannot knock a Japanese down in Japan without danger of going to jail' summed up, for one European, the chief offense of a nation which holds itself quite on a par with other nations in those things which are essential to civilization. If some Japanese have an exalted idea of their national achievements, they are sharing the feeling which Americans, Germans, Englishmen and others entertain with regard to their respective countries. The sense of superiority has reached a high state of development in most countries. Much has been said about non-assimilability; and it has been declared many times that the issue of superiority or inferiority is not raised; but the fact remains that in dealing with Japanese subjects Japan was ignored."—HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE.

One afternoon last fall the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County was discussing various measures in the usual fashion. Abruptly a member stood up and frothing at the mouth shouted, "They are coming—they are coming!—armed!—they are coming to drive us out!"

He saw the Japanese bogey the night before. He was haunted by the shadows of myriad Japanese armed to the teeth, crossing the Mexican

border, landing on the Pacific shores, descending from the air, and rising from under the ground. So he came to the board meeting and got the fear and anguish out of his system.

But this is no joke. I do not blame the gentleman for getting excited. I would be just as badly scared if I were to believe such wild stories and vicious cartoons as are published in the California newspapers. Examples of the usual newspaper exaggerations and falsehoods will be found in Chapter VIII, "The Press and the Japanese Question."

Propagandists tell us that the Pacific Coast is facing the danger of "Hawaiianization," meaning that California, Oregon and Washington will soon become as predominantly Japanese in population as is Hawaii. The "Hawaiianization" of the Coast is as clever a slogan as the "Japanization" of Hawaii, and is calculated to rouse fear and prejudice against the Japanese.

But before permitting yourself to be deceived by such catch phrases, just take a glance at this table, which presents in a nutshell the general view of the Japanese question in Continental United States:

THE JAPANESE QUESTION AT A GLANCE

A—Population

Total population of United States.....	105,708,771
Japanese population of United States.....	150,000
(Equals one-seventh of 1 per cent. total.)	
Total population of California.....	3,426,861

Japanese population of California.....	70,196
(Equals 2 per cent. of total.)	
Total population of Washington.....	1,356,621
Japanese population of Washington.....	17,114
(Equals 1.3 per cent. of total.)	
Total population of Oregon.....	783,389
Japanese population of Oregon.....	4,022
(Equals one-half of 1 per cent. of total.)	

B—Land Operation

I. California:

	Acres.
Total land area of California.....	99,617,280
Farm land area of California.....	27,931,144
Land operated by Japanese:	
Owned	74,769
(Equals $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent. of farm land.)	
Leased	383,287
(Equals 1.7 per cent. of farm land.)	

II. Washington:

Total land area of Washington.....	42,775,040
Farm land area of Washington....	6,573,548
(Exclusive of Federal Domain.)	
Land operated by Japanese (lease).....	20,500
(Less than 1.3 of 1 per cent. of farm land.)	

III. Oregon:

Total land area of Oregon.....	61,188,280
Farm land operated by Japanese.....	10,096
(Less than 1-50th of 1 per cent. of total.)	

I have shown in the preceding chapter that the so-called Japanization of Hawaii is entirely due to conditions peculiar to the islands—conditions which do not exist at all on the Pacific Coast. Here in continental United States there is no “big interest” scouring the Orient for cheap labor and importing it by the shiploads. On the contrary, the gentlemen’s agreement has stopped, or at least effectively restricted, mass immigration

of the Japanese not only from Japan but also from Hawaii. Even before the conclusion of the gentlemen's agreement the number of Japanese immigrants to the Pacific Coast was not great, most of them having gone to Hawaii. (See Appendix C, Statistical Table 1.)

Hawaii, with a small area of 6,449 square miles, has a population of 255,912, of which 109,274 are Japanese. California, Oregon and Washington, with an aggregate area of 318,095 square miles, support but 5,566,000 people, or 17.4 to the square mile. Of that total only 93,332 are Japanese, making but .29 to the square mile. (See Appendix C, Statistical Tables 1-3.)

Washington has an area of 42,775,040 acres (about 66,836 square miles), and has only 17,114 Japanese. Its farm land measures 6,573,548 acres, of which only 20,500 acres, all under lease, are operated by Japanese, for Washington never allowed foreigners to own farm land. (See Appendix C, Statistical Tables 22-25.)

The land area of Oregon is 61,188,280 acres (about 95,607 square miles). In that vast country the Japanese farmers, only 224 in number, cultivate but 10,000 acres, or less than one-fiftieth of one per cent. of the total area. The entire Japanese population of the state is only 4,300. The federal census of 1920 classifies farmers in Oregon by race as follows:

Caucasians	49,635
Indians	300
Japanese	224
Chinese	34
Negroes	15

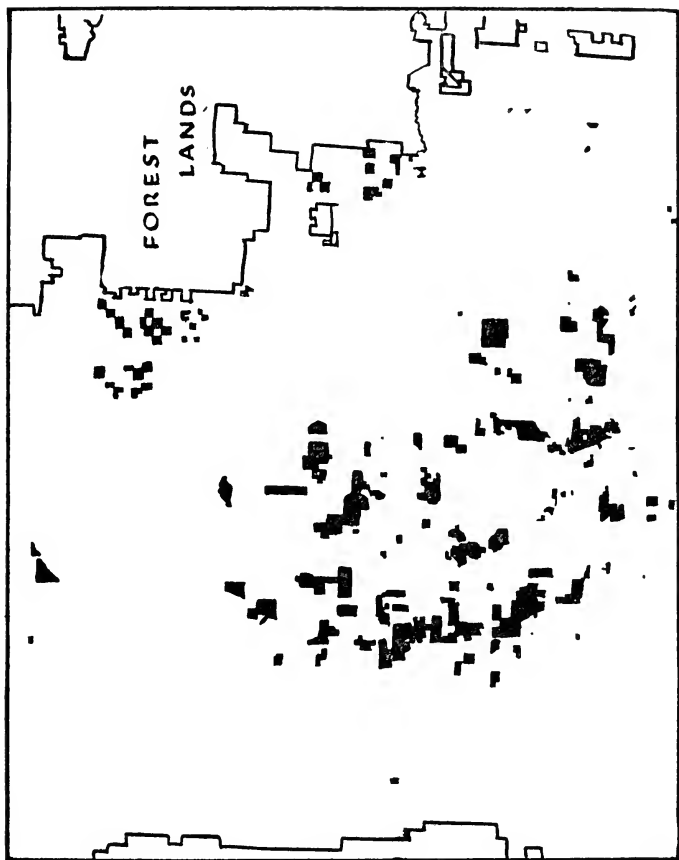
Coming to California we find the crux of the Japanese question. But even here the outstanding facts are simple enough. As the American Committee of Justice, organized by a coterie of prominent Californians to oppose the initiative alien land law, puts it:

“The population of California is 3,426,526, of which only 2 per cent. are Japanese. In 1919 more white children were born in the State than the total of Japanese births for the ten years preceding. California should not be placed in the position of 98 per cent. of her population being in fear of 2 per cent.

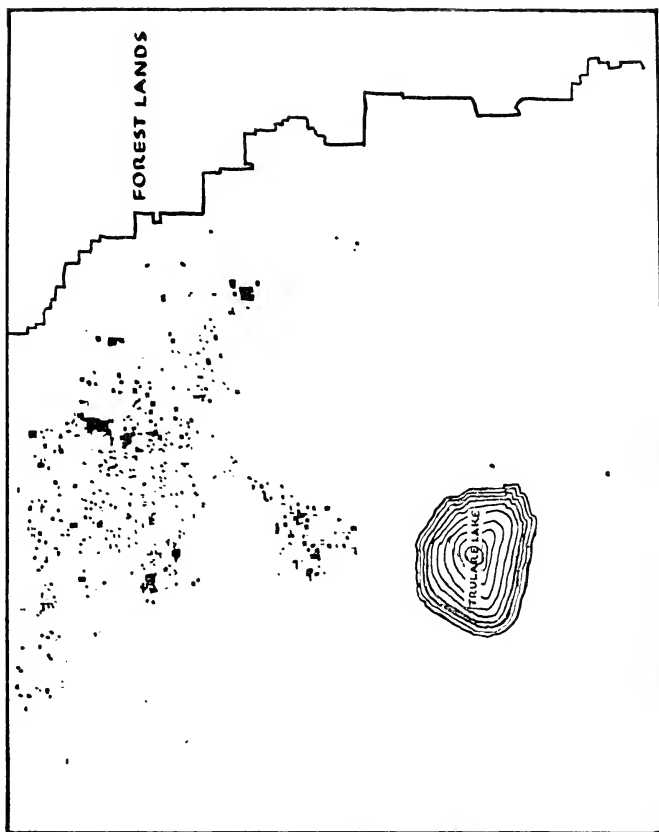
“In the last ten years the California population increased 1,058,987. It was a 44.1 per cent. increase, while that of the whole United States was only 14 per cent. Does that look like the State is being destroyed by its 2 per cent. of Japanese?

“The State Board of Control reports that Japanese cultivated 458,056 acres last year. California has an area of 99,617,280 acres, of which about 28,000,000 is farm land. Of this vast farm land, only 1.6 per cent. is cultivated by Japanese. Upon this 1.6 per cent. they produce 13 per cent. of California's total food output.

“Their produce is valued at \$67,000,000, of



which 35 per cent. is paid landowners as rentals and 45 per cent. to labor as wages. The balance of 20 per cent. is the reward for Japanese tenants and contractors.



“With effective restriction of Japanese immigration there need be no fear that the small Japanese population now here will ever become a dominating element. The present Japanese population is only 2 per cent. of the total. The

highest Japanese birth rate is only 7.4 per cent. of the whole as against 90.8 per cent. of American births. Within a few years Japanese births will become even less, because: (1) immigrants, irrespective of race, have fewer children after the first generation; (2) the average age of Japanese male adults now here is about 40; (3) the abolition of "picture marriages" will make it more difficult for Japanese to marry; (4) the arrivals of Japanese will decrease as the result of present diplomatic negotiations."

Governor William D. Stephens, of California, in his letter to Secretary of State Mr. Colby dated June 21, 1920, declares that the Japanese operate 623,752 acres of the very best lands in California. This statement is false both as to the figures and as to the nature of the land in question.

First, as to the figures. As the Governor's letter plainly states, his figures were taken from the report of the State Board of Control. That report gives 458,056 acres (instead of the Governor's 623,752) as the total acreage operated by the Japanese—74,769 acres owned and 383,287 acres under lease or crop contract. The Governor's figures (623,752 acres) are not for the Japanese alone but for all Orientals, including the Chinese and Hindus.

It is charitable to presume that the Governor inadvertently mistook those bloated figures for the acreage operated by the Japanese alone. Un-

doubtedly he has since been reminded by some one, perhaps Secretary Colby, of his error, for in printing the same letter together with the Report of the Board of Control, the Governor has, with no apology or explanation, corrected the misstatement. But the wrong he had done could not be remedied in this way. When he wrote the letter to Secretary Colby, the Governor caused it to be heralded to the four corners of the earth, and the newspapers all over America published it days before it reached the State Department, for the political gallery was what he had his eyes on. Thus the celebrated letter was read by tens of millions of unsuspecting readers, while the Report of the State Board of Control, in which the Governor quietly rectified his misstatements, has perhaps been read by a few hundred university professors and experts. (For the Governor's attitude towards the Japanese see Chapter V.)

So much for the Governor's grave error. In its rectified form his statement, as published in the Report of the State Board of Control, reads as follows:

"At the present time they (the Japanese) operate 458,056 acres of the very best lands in California. The increase in acreage control within the last decade, according to official figures, has been 412.9 per cent. In productive values—that is to say, in the market value of

crops produced by them—our figures show that as against \$6,235,856 worth of produce marketed in 1909, the increase has been to \$67,143,730, approximately tenfold."

These figures are a gross exaggeration and are calculated to mislead public judgment.

In the first place, the Governor tries to create the impression that the 427,029 acres cultivated by the Japanese are also "controlled" by them, for he refers to them as "acreage control." As a matter of fact, Japanese control does not go very far. For the sake of clarity we tabulate acreages cultivated by Japanese in various forms:

1. Owned by Japanese individuals.....	26,988
2. Owned by American corporations with Japanese share- holders	47,781
3. Cultivated by Japanese under cash-rent lease.....	192,150
4. Cultivated by Japanese under crop-share contract....	121,000
5. Cultivated by Japanese under labor contract.....	70,137
Total	458,056

These are figures of the Japanese Agricultural Association of San Francisco.

Of these three forms of lease, crop-share contract and labor contract are not leases in reality. In either case the Japanese tenants have no control over the land they cultivate or the crops they produce. In the case of crop-share contract, the tenants are suppliers of labor and are paid for their labor in crops, which are in most cases controlled by the landowners, not the tenants. Labor

contract is another form of crop-share contract in which the tenant's position is even more precarious. In the case of cash-rent lease, the tenants may be said to control the land for the period of lease which is restricted to three years. Under this last-named form of lease the Japanese operate 192,150 acres.

It comes to this, that out of a total of 28,000,000 acres of California's farm lands, the Japanese own 26,988 acres, and may be said to "control" 213,000 acres by lease. In addition they have shares in American corporations owning 47,781 acres.

In the second place, the Governor's statement that in the past decade acreage controlled by Japanese increased 412 per cent. is wholly wrong. We may concede that his figures for 1919 are correct, but his figures for 1909, which form the basis for his estimate of increase, are far from accurate. If we accept these figures as accurate, then the increase in the last ten years is 413 per cent.

Unfortunately ten years ago there was no authentic estimate of the acreage operated by the Japanese. But the investigation, made at that time by the Japanese Association of America, reveals that in 1909 farms cultivated by Japanese totaled 195,948 acres, and not 83,253 acres as given by the Governor. Estimate upon this basis shows that the increase of farms culti-

vated by Japanese in the past ten years is about 117 per cent., and not 412 per cent.

But, you will interpose, even our revised figures show that the farms cultivated by the Japanese have more than doubled in the past decade. Yes, but there is a reason. If you will study the growth of Japanese farming carefully, you will observe that most of the increase in the farm lands cultivated by the Japanese appeared during the war. As a war measure both the Federal and the State Government encouraged increased production of food materials. Appeal after appeal was issued by them and the Food Administration, urging the farmers to extend their acreage and to increase their produce. The Japanese Association and the Japanese Farmers' Organizations in California were repeatedly called upon to render their assistance in the execution of the war-time agricultural policy adopted by the authorities. These organizations translated and published in Japanese newspapers and in pamphlets the declarations and appeals issued by the President and the Food Administration. And the Japanese response was as prompt as it was sincere. Not only did the Japanese extend their acreages but some Japanese, with no farming experience, embarked upon agricultural ventures, from motives of public duty. Most of such inexperienced farmers lost heavily and have already withdrawn from the field.

With the restoration of normal economic condition and the decline in the prices of food materials, the total acreage operated by the Japanese is bound to decrease. To take the rate of increase in the past decade as a basis of estimate for future increase is as illogical as it is absurd.

In the third place, the Governor's statement that in the last ten years the market value of crops produced by the Japanese increased ten times, is the corollary to his underestimation of the acreage cultivated by the Japanese ten years ago and the value of crops then produced by them. Our own data, which we believe to be more accurate than those of the Governor, reveal that in 1909 the market value of crops produced by the Japanese amounted to \$18,508,790, instead of the Governor's \$6,235,856. If we take our figures as the basis of calculation, the increase of crops produced by the Japanese in the past ten years is not much more than threefold, instead of the Governor's tenfold.

Efforts have been made to conjure up the bogey of Japanese control of food products in California. But remember that California's food products are valued at \$507,000,000, of which Japanese produce amounts to \$67,145,000, a matter of only 13 per cent. of the total. Remember also that out of the total of \$67,145,000, representing the value of Japanese production, 35 per cent. goes to landowners as rentals, 45 per

cent. to labor in the form of wages, leaving only 20 per cent. to Japanese tenants or contractors. Does this justify the statement that the Japanese farmers control the farming enterprise in California? Again, we must remember that while the Japanese are producers, they have no power to control the price of their products. For fruits, beans, berries and rice, in the culture of which the Japanese are most interested, growers' associations have been organized to fix prices and to protect the general interest of the growers, but in the direction and management of such organizations the Japanese have no voice, for they are controlled by more influential American land-owners and producers. Surely this does not justify the gloomy picture painted by alarmists and politicians.

The Report of the Board of Control contains a map of California in which five square sections are shown as "*occupied by Orientals*," including Japanese, Chinese and Hindus. "Occupied" is the word used in the legend to the map. One wonders if this is a deliberate attempt to insinuate that these sections are actually occupied, controlled or owned by Orientals. At any rate it conveys to an uninformed public the impression that most, if not all, of the land in these sections is controlled by Orientals. Yet in the enlarged maps of those sections, also found in the said Report, it is clearly shown that Oriental farmers

in those districts are only a small minority, and that the lands cultivated by them are but small fractions of the arable lands contained therein.



The Japanese population in California is variously estimated. The 1920 census places it at 70,196. According to the Japanese Association

at San Francisco, it is 71,033. The Report of the State Board of Control gives it as 87,279.

Which of these three sets of figures are correct is, to me, immaterial. The discrepancy between the lowest and the highest figures is but 17,000. If we accept the lowest estimate, namely, that of the Census, the Japanese population in California amounts to 2 per cent. of the total. If we take the highest estimate, that of the Board of Control, the percentage is 2.5.

But the fact is that the estimate of the Board of Control is arbitrary and inaccurate. It employed no field agents to enumerate the Japanese. It asked the Japanese Association to do the estimating. After the Board obtained the estimate of the Japanese Association, it worked on it at the office desk, did some arbitrary adding and subtracting, and got 87,279. In short, the estimate is an estimate on paper, and is not based upon actual enumeration by field agents. Such an estimate cannot be accurate. We have reason to believe that the figures supplied by the Japanese Association, namely, 71,033, are nearer the actual number.

To obtain the percentage of the Japanese population, the only available figures are census figures, because the census is the only source of information for the entire population of California. The percentage thus obtained is, as we have already seen, only 2. It is obviously un-

scientific to take census figures for the total population of California, and obtain percentage of the Japanese population by taking figures for it from some other source. (For a scientific analysis of the population figures of the Board of Control, the reader is referred to Dr. Sidney L. Gulick's article on "Japanese in California," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for January, 1921.)

Many wild statements have been made on the Japanese birth rate. Mr. V. S. McClatchy, one of the apostles of anti-Japanism, says that because of the extraordinary fecundity of the Japanese, the California population will within eighty or ninety years become predominantly Japanese. The statement is so obviously ridiculous that it needs no refutation, but to amuse the reader I will let Colonel John P. Irish, who wrote the official argument against California's initiative alien land law, reply to Mr. McClatchy. Says Mr. Irish in a recent public address:

"They say, Mr. McClatchy of the *Sacramento Bee* says, that the biological fecundity of the Japanese is so great that in a limited time, I think sixty-four years, because of Japanese births, the entire state will be Japanese. When has it occurred in the history of the world that 2 per cent. of a population could outdo 98 per cent. of it in biological production? You see how absolutely ridiculous it is—absolutely ridiculous!

And yet McClatchy has published this abroad. I call him Malthus McClatchy. Thomas Robert Malthus, an English professor, published a book in 1798 showing that inasmuch as the population of the world increases in a geometrical ratio and the food supply in arithmetical ratio, or the other way, within a hundred years the world would grow to be depopulated because there would be no food to feed the people. That hundred years has gone by and we are all of us eating three meals a day, and some five. So I call him Malthus McClatchy because he has brought the same idea that Malthus has, that 2 per cent. of the population of California is going to biologically out-produce 98 per cent. of it.

"Then again he has gone to the ouija board and he has got ouija board mathematics to show that they are going to own the whole state in 165 years. Well, I went to Sacramento and I got the first assessment on the property of the original McClatchy, who came to Sacramento many years ago as an Irish emigrant, I got the first assessment on his property, and then I got the present assessment on the estate accumulated by him and two generations of his family, and applying Malthus McClatchy's ouija board figures to the increase of the wealth of the McClatchy family, I showed that in a hundred years the McClatchy family will own all California, bag and baggage, banks, everything, own all California."

Let me give another example of typical misrepresentations concerning the Japanese birth rate. A politician in Placer County, a member of the state legislature, recently spread the news that in his county the "Japanese stork" brought forth 123 babies in 1918, while the "white stork" brought only 61. But the report of the State Health Board contradicts both the Japanese and the white storks presented by the solon, for it says that in 1918 no less than 260 American babies were born in Placer County as against 91 Japanese babies. To us living in California such misrepresentations are nothing new. They are almost the order of the day. The newspapers spread them broadcast to be swallowed whole by a gullible public.

To come back to more authentic data. The California Health Board states that in 1910 Japanese births in California were only 2.2 per cent. of total births in California. In 1919 this increased to 7.4 per cent. This increase, great as it is, is not alarming at all when analyzed carefully. In the first place, immigrants of all races have large families in the first generation, but from the second generation the birth rate, irrespective of race, begins to decline. The Japanese in California are no exception to this general tendency. Their families, comparatively large at present, will soon commence to diminish.

Again, Japanese immigrants came to this

country at first without wives. But in the past seven or eight years these Japanese realized the wisdom of establishing homes in this country, and invited their wives to come and join them. Sudden increase of Japanese births was the natural result. To compare the Japanese birth rate of 1910, when only a few of the Japanese had their wives here, to that of 1919, when a majority of them were married, is not the right way of estimating the rate of increase in Japanese births under normal conditions. In the past decade or so most of the Japanese adults have married. As the average age of these adults is about forty, it is reasonable to presume that the birth rate among the Japanese will soon begin to decline. This decrease will be accelerated by the stoppage of the "picture marriage." If the negotiations now going on between Washington and Tokyo result in a new treaty, more effectively excluding Japanese immigration, the growth of the Japanese population will be checked or retarded.

Let us look at the matter from another angle. When we say that Japanese births in California have increased seven times in ten years, that may sound alarming, especially if we ignore the abnormal conditions responsible for the increase. But if we say that Japanese births, at their highest point of increase, do not exceed 7.4 per cent. of total births and that 90.8 per cent. of the babies born in the state are Caucasian, the figures

take on quite a different meaning. In other words, figures for Japanese births should not be considered independently, but should be considered in their relation to other births and in comparison with the steady increase of the Caucasian population in California.

As a matter of fact Japanese fecundity is a myth, existing only in the minds of agitators, fire-eaters, and hysteriacs addicted to seeing things at night. Already the Japanese birth rate has begun to decline. The highest rate was that of 1917, namely, 7.87 per cent. In 1918 this declined to 7.57, in 1919 to 7.82, and in 1920 to 7.21. (See Appendix C, Tables 11-16.)

In the rural district of Los Angeles County, where Japanese truck gardeners are found in large numbers, the records of the Health Officer show that from 1916 to 1919 the Japanese births decreased from 31.2 per cent. to 28.3 per cent. (See Appendix C, Table 16.) Commenting upon these figures, Professor Burnight, of the University of Southern California, says:

“Turning to the figures regarding the births among the Japanese, it is found that in 1916 there were 475 births, and in 1919 there were 418. There is no increase to justify the panic-stricken cry of alarm that is going up regarding the tremendous increase in the number of births of Japanese which will soon swamp the whole county. As far as the county, outside of the

cities is concerned, there is little need of alarm. If the increase in numbers is the thing that causes anxiety, however, it should not be the Japanese that we should fear, but rather the Mexicans, for the records of the County Health Officer show that from 1916 to 1919 the births of Mexican children increased from 193 to 276. At that rate they would soon outstrip both the white and the Japanese races.

"In connection with the Japanese birth rate, two points should be remembered. The first is that the great majority of the Japanese in this country at the present time are between the ages of 18 to 45, that is, they are in the child-bearing period, while the races with which they are compared have a large number of old people and of children. Therefore, in a few years their rate of increase will begin to decline. The second fact is that after August, 1920, according to the promise of the Japanese Government, the coming to this country of 'picture brides' has ceased, which will result in lowering the Japanese birth rate. The Japanese in Hawaii are much less fecund than rate."

That the Japanese as a race is not as fecund as some of the European races is the conclusion reached by Dr. L. R. Sullivan, of the New York Museum of Natural History, who has made a careful study of birth rate among the various races in Hawaii. According to this investigation

Porto Ricans, and Portuguese. (See Appendix C, Table 14.)

A scientific study reveals that even in California Caucasian fecundity exceeds Japanese fecundity. Mr. E. L. Ross, Director of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of California, has made a comparative study of reproductive frequency of Caucasians and Japanese for 1920. Its result shows that up to four births the Japanese birth rate is higher than the Caucasian birth rate, but that from five to nine births, the Japanese birth rate is increasingly lower than the Caucasian birth rate. Director Ross estimates the average Caucasian family (parents plus children) in California at 4.67 persons, and the average Japanese family at 4.63 persons, showing that the average Japanese family is smaller than the Caucasian.

From whichever side we may view the question, there is absolutely no justification for the fear of the "Hawaiianization" of the Pacific Coast, even of California.

CHAPTER III

JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION TO CALIFORNIA

"Our nation fronts on the Pacific, just as it fronts on the Atlantic. We hope to play a constantly growing part in the great ocean of the Orient. We wish, as we ought to wish, for a great commercial development in our dealings with Asia; and it is out of the question that we should permanently have such development unless we freely and gladly extend to other nations the same measure of justice and good treatment which we expect to receive in return. It is only a small body of our citizens that act badly. Where the Federal Government has power it will deal summarily with any such. Where the several states have power I earnestly ask that they also deal wisely and promptly with such conduct, or else this small body of wrongdoers may bring shame upon the great mass of their innocent and right-thinking fellows—that is, upon our nation as a whole. Good manners should be an international, no less than an individual, attribute. I ask fair treatment for the Japanese as I would ask fair treatment for Germans or Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, or Italians. I ask it as due to humanity and civilization. I ask it as due to ourselves because we must act uprightly toward all men. I recommend to the Congress that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

During the month of July the House Committee on Immigration conducted an investigation into the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast, especially in California and Washington. The Committee consisted of Representatives Albert

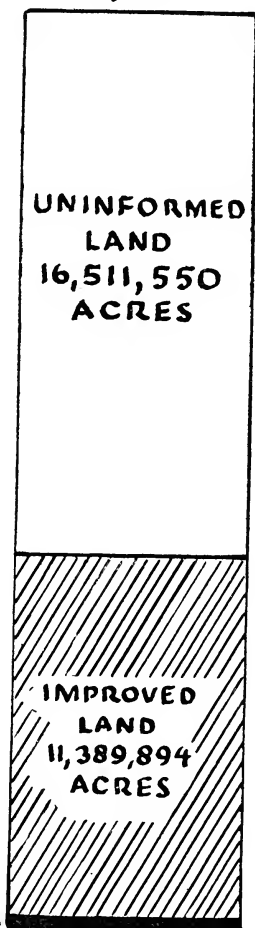
Johnson, of Washington, Isaac Siegel, of New York, J. Will. Taylor, of Tennessee, William N.



Japanese Population

Vaile, of Colorado, John E. Raker, of California, John C. Box, of Texas, and King Swope, of Kentucky.

**CALIFORNIA
FARM LANDS.
1920**



**[JAPANESE
HOLDINGS
458,056 ACRES**

The Committee held public hearings at various important centers in California, summoning witnesses both American and Japanese. At the hearing held in Stockton, a prosperous agricultural center in California, a lawyer appeared to testify against the Japanese.

"Are you the gentleman," asked Representative Johnson, chairman of the Committee, "who we understand criticized us for accepting Mr. George Shima's invitation to visit Stockton as his guests?"

"Yes," replied the lawyer.

Johnson sent a sharp glance towards the witness, then looked around and surveyed the audience.

"We want you, and all of you, to understand," he said, apparently with some feeling, "that our Committee has come to California not to inquisition but to inquire. Our minds are open, we have no prejudice against anybody or any race, we would accept anybody's hospitality and see what he had to show us if we had the time."

The audience smiled, and the lawyer's ears turned red. He must be either a very big man or a very small man, if he didn't feel embarrassed.

George Shima is the Japanese "potato king." By common consent he is far and away the most successful Japanese in California. If you go to Stockton and stand at the water front, you will observe a dozen steamboats, barges, tugboats,

and launches, all bearing the name of Shima. These are used in reaching his delta ranches ten to fifteen miles down the San Joaquin River from Stockton, and in shipping his potatoes to San Francisco.

As the members of the Immigration Committee took one of these launches, and sped through the winding watercourse, delta after delta passed before their eyes, all developed or to be developed by Shima's enterprise. It was a surprise to the gentlemen of the House. Obviously they did not expect such a triumphant achievement from any "little brown man." As the journey of inspection approached an end, one of the gentlemen slapped Shima on the back in the typical American fashion and said, "Mr. Shima, this is a real case of 'let George do it.' "

One of the Japanese pioneers in the Golden State, Shima was, a score of years ago, little more than a labor contractor, supplying American ranchers and orchardists with laborers. He had the foresight to see a fortune in store in the apparently barren delta of the San Joaquin River. In the neighborhood of Stockton this sheet of water is torn by numerous islets, all covered with a dense growth of tule and other wild vegetation and usually inundated during the winter months. Not only was the picture far from alluring, but the place was infested with malaria, and was considered altogether too un-

healthy for farming. At any rate the delta had never attracted American farmers.

But George Shima was not afraid to try his hand in the risky venture. Backed by an American firm which owned much of the delta, Shima embarked upon a precarious experiment. First, he diked one of the islets and drained the soil inside by cutting a wide ditch across it. Superfluous water in the ditch was pumped out into the river by an engine. Thus the land was made to yield to the plow operated by steam engine. After the first plowing the virgin soil is allowed to lie idle for a year or two, so that the brush and tule will rot under the sod. The soil thus prepared was found excellent for the cultivation of potatoes, and Shima's dream came true. The American landowners interested in the development of the delta found in Shima a thorough gentleman, honest to the core, straightforward in his dealings, yet alert and alive to the advanced methods of farming and business. In the past twenty years almost \$8,000,000 has been paid to these landowners by Shima. In all the dealings involving the payment of this enormous amount of rents, not a single lawsuit has been resorted to. It was George Shima's probity, coupled with his business acumen, which won him the absolute confidence of his landowners. To-day he is himself a millionaire and owns six thousand acres of delta

lands, cultivating in addition seven thousand acres under lease.

I have given this picture of the development of the delta lands by Japanese enterprise, because the false idea has been deliberately spread by designing persons that the Japanese are parasites and usurpers, settling upon lands already opened by Americans.

If you go to Sacramento and stop at the headquarters of the California Anti-Oriental League, organized mostly by political aspirants, they will invariably advise you to go and visit Florin, a village fifteen miles from the capital, for they will declare with great emphasis that it is a concrete example of the great menace that the Japanese are. They will tell you that the Japanese have all but monopolized the village, that they have driven out white farmers, that they have destroyed the productivity of the soil and depreciated the value of farms. When, in 1913, Mr. Bryan came to Sacramento, hoping to forestall the enactment of an anti-Japanese land law, Mr. Hiram Johnson, then Governor of California, took the Secretary of State to Florin and reiterated the same story. Pointing to the berry-box factory, the Governor said to Mr. Bryan, "Look at that factory; it used to employ American labor, nothing but American labor; now its working force consists entirely of Japanese." The Governor omitted to inform the innocent Secre-

tary of State that before the coming of the Japanese the village had no berry industry and therefore no box factory!

If one stops a moment and thinks of the history of Florin, it must immediately dawn upon him that the prosperity of Florin is entirely due to a new industry created by the Japanese. And be it remembered that no American farmer, who had the will to develop the naturally poor soil by hard work, has quit the village because of the advent of the Japanese. It is an indisputable fact that the American, or Caucasian, population of Florin to-day is much larger than it was prior to the settlement of the Japanese there. Those who have left there did so merely because they were lured by the temptations of city life, or found it more profitable to rent their farms to the Japanese. Miss Alice Brown, a vineyardist in Florin, writes on the development of this district as follows:

“As to the decrease in land values that is another bald falsehood. The property has doubled in value within the last six years. And realty men of Sacramento know that this is the fact as well as the residents of this community (Florin) know that this is the fact. As for the Japanese neighbor, his industry on the land he tills enhances its value and increases ours in consequence. Adjoining my home are eighty acres which for all these years had never been touched

by a plough—so sloughy and shallow was the land that the white man set it aside as only fit for a pasture. The Japanese turned it into the most beautiful vineyards and strawberry patches, and where the poorest of the poor soil lay is the finest berry patch in this vicinity. Neat little homes dot that once barren tract, and they are occupied by as good and kindly neighbors as we wish to have. Who is insane enough to believe that such a transformation from aridity to high productiveness would decrease the value of adjoining property?

“There never has been one farm sold to get away from a Japanese neighbor. On the contrary, white families are coming in all the time and erecting homes. The fact that the Japanese are here enables the white man to secure the help to make good for himself. We do not object to the moral, industrious Japanese being our neighbor; we prefer him to ignorant, shiftless white men. The experience of many has shown that the white man is a failure as a tenant, the property becomes a wreck in his hands. The industrious Japanese will do the work and increase the value of the property. There are more whites in this community than there ever were before in its history.”

Years before the appearance of the Japanese, vast fields in and around Florin had been sowed to grain, but the fertility of the soil was so limited that each succeeding year diminished the return

until the grain industry was no longer profitable. For the soil in this country is a shallow bed rock and abounds in sloughs. It was a soil hard to cultivate, let alone its natural poverty. So grain culture had lasted only a few years; then the land was virtually abandoned and permitted to remain idle.

And yet when the same land was properly prepared and irrigated by means of artesian water conducted through ditches, it was found excellent for grape and berry culture. That, however, required considerable expenditure of money and still greater expenditure of labor, and the Caucasian farmers, accustomed to the easier methods of grain culture, were not willing to apply either money or labor to the new farming. But the Japanese were not afraid to work hard and sink the necessary capital for the boring of wells and the preparation of ditches. So the Japanese, hard-working, ingenious, practical farmers, came there some twenty years ago and took lands neglected by their Caucasian fellows. And what was the result? In a year's time the barren fields were changed into attractive berry gardens, and in three years' time the grapevines they had planted began to yield handsome crops. To-day Florin boasts of shipping \$300,000 worth of strawberries and grapes every year. It was the Japanese who put Florin on the map, an obscure,

stagnant, declining village up to twenty years ago.

Another striking example of Japanese contribution is seen in the development of Livingston in Central California. When the Japanese first appeared there some twelve years ago, they found the soil nothing but shifting sand, blown by desert winds that sucked up and whirled away every vestige of moisture. There were no shade trees, no sanitation, no schools, no churches. There was nothing to make life worth living; in fact, life there was believed impossible.

An American colony had been planted at Livingston twelve years before, but after a brief struggle with hostile conditions, had vanished. It simply "blew away," its distant neighbors said. These Japanese were laughed at when they announced that they would settle at Livingston. Their own people laughed at them. They were told that they, too, would be blown away by the fierce winds that whirled over the hot sands. But the Japanese were undaunted, and by dint of perseverance and assiduity have succeeded in converting the desert into smiling gardens and flourishing orchards. As a result of this transformation, the neighboring sand fields which were once regarded as worthless have suddenly enhanced in value and price.

In the phenomenal development of the rice industry in Butte, Colusa, Yuba and Sutter coun-

ties, we find another happy example of Japanese pioneering. Here the soil is not only charged with alkali but is packed so hard that few Americans thought of raising anything on it. Yet in this apparently forbidding country the Japanese saw an opportunity for profitable rice culture. Although the Japanese was not the first to try rice culture in this district, it was he who made the industry a commercial success. While American pioneers wavered and abandoned the enterprise, the Japanese stuck to the job and outlived the failures and disasters which had to be faced in the early stage of the venture. To-day there are at least 140,000 acres of land devoted to rice culture, of which the Japanese farmers, after years of pioneering, operate only some 16,000 acres.

A staff writer on the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who has made special study of the Japanese farmers in California, does not exaggerate when he says in that newspaper:

“The most striking feature of Japanese farming in California has been this development of successful orchards, vineyards or gardens on land that was either completely out of use or employed for far less profitable purposes. Ignorant of the facts of the case, we have been inclined to believe in California that Japanese farmers have merely taken over lands and farms of American farmers and continued the business

as they found it. The slightest study, however, shows this conclusion to be a complete error.

"The Japanese farmer in California has always been a great developer and improver. Where he has taken over lands that were in use before his time he has almost always, if not always, put them to a far higher use and made them more valuable than they were before. But with a great proportion of the lands he now farms he has developed them of nothing."

There are, of course, exceptions to the above generalization. In some localities, notably in Los Angeles County, the Japanese have taken up fertile lands already developed by American, or Caucasian, farmers. But even here the Japanese, when buying and not leasing property, have taken up arid and unproductive land. Of this particular district Professor R. F. Burnight, of the University of Southern California, made a scholarly and exhaustive study, and published its result in June, 1920, in a monogram entitled "The Japanese in Rural Los Angeles County." He says:

"In Los Angeles County, the Japanese have taken up arid and unproductive land, as a rule, only when they wished to purchase the property. They have done so because those who wished to buy were very poor and had to buy the cheapest land they could find. After they had once gained control of the land, they immediately set to work

to fertilize it and make it productive. This has been done in the case of practically all the Japanese owned land, which consists of 3,100 acres."

It has been often charged that the Japanese farmers, when leasing farms, exhaust the fertility of the soil. Yet to experienced California ranchers and orchardists this charge seems absurd. Mr. John B. Wallace, formerly a newspaper man and at present an orange grower in Southern California, refutes this charge in these words:

"One of the most ridiculous arguments against the Japanese is the charge that they exhaust the soil on leased lands. Anyone who knows anything at all about gardening knows that to be profitable it requires constant and most heavy fertilization. Even if the lessors of the land were so lacking in business acumen as to allow their land to be depleted it would not pay the Japanese themselves. One reason that barnyard manures are so scarce and high is the demand for them from the Japanese truck gardeners. The Japanese are also heavy users of commercial fertilizers, especially fish scraps, the value of which they were among the first to recognize."

Even so conservative and judicious a writer as Professor Burnight admits only with qualifications the truth of the above charge. He says:

"Under the terms of the land law of 1913, the

Japanese can lease land for a term of three years only. For the first two years the land is fertilized and intensively cultivated, but during the third year, unless the lessee expects to renew his title for another term of three years, no fertilization is done and through very intensive cultivation practically every ounce of nourishment in the ground is extracted. As many crops as possible are raised and so, when the lease expires, the land is worth almost nothing. *It is a mistake, however, to say that it is ruined, because all the experts agree that within from one to three years the land can be brought back to its original state.* This is a point, however, at which the Japanese farmers have erred greatly, and for which the land law of limiting lease to three years is partly responsible."

In the judgment of practical farmers, Professor Burnight's statement, that in the third year of lease the Japanese lessee exhausts the soil, is open to question, because it is impossible to exhaust the fertility of a farm which has been so heavily fertilized in the previous two years as does the Japanese.

In concluding this chapter it seems pertinent to present a summary of the special report on the Japanese in California, prepared in 1909 by Mr. John D. Mackenzie, then State Commissioner of Labor Statistics. Though ten years old, the report contains conclusions which cannot be altered by the lapse of time.

Mr. Mackenzie was directed to make special investigation into the Japanese question, the state legislature having appropriated \$10,000 for that purpose. In carrying out this commission, Mr. Mackenzie employed nine special agents, all Americans, and two statistical experts and two stenographers. As the result of this investigation, the Commissioner arrived at these conclusions:

“1. That the relationships existing between the farm labor utilized at the present time in the great industries of the orchard, vineyard and field, and the industries themselves, have been developed along lines of an evolutionary character, and are practically impossible of modification in any material degree.

“2. That the suggestion of solving the situation by drawing from the present available white farm supply by any known or suggested methods of modification of the conditions now obtaining in this state will afford no practical or material relief.

“3. That the creation of an ideal intelligent class of white farm laborers, to be drawn from all sources within the confines of the United States, is practically an impossibility, for the reason that such an effort would entail an entire and radical readjustment of economic conditions and the relationship that now exists between the grower and the systems of transportation, distribution and marketing.

“4. That the perpetuity or continued development of these great and highly specialized forms of agricultural activity must largely depend upon a supply of labor coming from without the United States, and of such a nature and character as to conform to the conditions resulting from the application of that labor to the agricultural demands.

“5. That the transition from the cereal-growing period to the development of specialized agriculture increased the ratio of temporary help required by the farming districts beyond the normal available supply within the state during periods of largely increasing population.

“6. The necessity for providing the large number of temporary employees engaged in the harvest with employment during the various periods other than the harvest season, is a vital element in the solution of the farm labor problem.”

The Commissioner's report touches upon the moral character of the Japanese. The reliability of the Japanese contractor of means and responsibility, says Mr. Mackenzie, is as high as that displayed by white men of like responsibility in similar operations. The element of reliability of the Japanese sub-boss, small contractor or laborer is no lower in type than is observed in the available white man in the same class or character of employment. The comparison of the individual Japanese laborer with the indi-

vidual white laborer of the typical class, which is now in the field, and from which is recruited all the white help now obtainable, discloses a higher standard on the part of the Japanese.

According to Mr. Mackenzie, one of the important factors which make the Japanese preferable to the white man as a farm laborer is his peculiar adaptability. No matter how untractable or undependable he may seem in the absence of competition, he reforms quickly in the face of competition, while the white man remains the same under all circumstances, and will not adapt himself to disagreeable conditions. Of course there have been many complaints heard against the Japanese regarding their methods in seeking to increase their wages; yet no one questions the efficiency of the Japanese laborer in his special field. It is freely admitted that no other labor is available for the work performed by the Japanese. The complaints of the employers of Japanese labor come from the fact that the Japanese are not free from that common weakness—or may we not as well say virtue?—of aspiring for independence. In their zeal to secure higher wages so that they may save enough to become owners of farms, they have sometimes emulated the tactics of the white working men, and have gone on strike at the most critical moments. Says the report:

“Japanese ambition to progress beyond mere servility to the plane of the better class of American working men, to own a home, to operate industries, to be master and not slave, is of the same quality as that of the Italian, the Swiss, the Portuguese, and the Russian with whom he competes, and in line with the ambition of that type of American who will not compete with him. The moment that this ambition is exercised, that moment the Japanese ceases to be an ideal laborer.”

The character of Japanese tenants and owners of farms is, we are told by Mr. Mackenzie, naturally higher than that of mere farm laborers. The Japanese landowners are steady and industrious, and from their earnings purchase land of low value and poor quality. The care lavished upon this land is something remarkable, and frequently its acreage value has increased several hundred per cent. in a year's time. These men, as a rule, show a courtesy that is inbred, and gladly extend hospitality to American visitors. Most of them indicate an intention to make the section in which they have located a permanent home, adopting American customs and manners. Evidence of the desire of the Japanese, whether independent farmers or laborers, to learn English was found in all the quarters visited by the agents. English dictionaries and books were observed among every man's belongings. The

Japanese lessees of farms have often been accused by unsympathetic critics of abusing the soil, trying to get all the good out of the ground at a minimum cost and in the shortest possible time. Once a farm is operated by a Japanese tenant, such critics declare, it is certain to become waste land, which can no longer be cultivated profitably. Such insinuations certainly are not supported by Mr. Mackenzie's report, which states that farms leased to Japanese are, at the expiration of the lease, always sought by white farmers.

One of the arguments advanced by the exclusionists against the Japanese laborers is that they deprive white men of employment by underselling their labor. Yet the facts gathered by Mr. Mackenzie run directly counter to such arguments. The average wage paid by white farmers to white help was \$1.38 per day with board, and \$1.80 without board, while the Japanese was paid \$1.49 per day with board and \$1.54 without board. Since Mr. Mackenzie's report was prepared, the wages of farm laborers have steadily increased.

In 1919, when farmers enjoyed great prosperity, Japanese farm hands were paid \$4.50 to \$5.00 per day without board, while American or Caucasian workers received \$3.50 to \$4.00. Thus an interesting situation was created in which many Japanese farmers preferred to employ

Caucasian laborers who accepted lower wages than those demanded by Japanese farm hands.

In the Report of the State Board of Control, to which frequent reference has been made, are included official reports made by Mrs. A. S. Calhoun, District Representative of the State Commission on Immigration and Housing, and by Mr. Edward A. Brown, Chief Sanitary Engineer of the same Commission. According to Mrs. Calhoun, "the Japanese in Los Angeles are well housed and my reports say that they respond quickly to orders or suggestions from the authorities as to improvements or changes in their houses," and "they are often more satisfactory in this regard than the lower classes of Americans." Mr. Brown, reporting on the labor camps, states that "one very noticeable feature in a Japanese labor camp where both American and Japanese laborers are employed is that the quarters provided for Japanese are generally better than those provided for the Americans." He adds, "Our experience with Japanese labor camp operators is that they will make any improvements necessary."

CHAPTER IV

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

"A really great nation must often act, and as a matter of fact often does act, toward other nations in a spirit not in the least of mere self-interest, but paying heed chiefly to ethical reasons; and as the centuries go by this disinterestedness in international action, this tendency of the individuals comprising a nation to require that nation to act with justice toward its neighbors, steadily grows and strengthens. It is neither wise nor right for a nation to disregard its own needs, and it is foolish—and may be wicked—to think that other nations will disregard theirs. But it is wicked for a nation only to regard its own interest, and foolish to believe that such is the sole motive that actuates any other nation. It should be our steady aim to raise the ethical standard of national action just as we strive to raise the ethical standard of individual action."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Japanese immigration into this country was first recorded in the reports of the immigration authorities in 1866, when there were seven Japanese entering America. From that time to 1885 figures for Japanese arrivals did not materially increase.

In 1884, however, Congress adopted the Chinese exclusion law, which created a condition stimulating the introduction of Japanese labor. The large landowners of California, having been deprived of Chinese farm hands, found in the Japanese excellent workers for their farms and orchards. Naturally they endeavored to encour-

age Japanese immigration by offering alluring terms.

The inducements offered to the Japanese began to be perceptible a few years after the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law. Thus, in 1891 Japanese arrivals numbered 1,136.

About this time a new factor was injected into the economic situation on the Pacific Coast, opening a wider field of employment for Japanese labor. The Western railroads had found out that the Japanese made excellent section hands, and tried hard to secure as many Japanese as possible. These conditions conspired to stimulate Japanese immigration, and by 1899 Japanese arrivals increased to 2,844.

In 1898 Hawaii was annexed by the United States and in 1900 Japanese immigration into the islands was for the first time included in the reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The following table shows Japanese arrivals to continental United States and Hawaii from 1902 to the adoption of the "gentlemen's agreement" in 1907, comparing them with figures for European immigrants in the same period:

<i>Year</i>	<i>European Immigrants</i>	<i>Japanese Immigrants to Continental U. S.</i>	<i>Japanese Immigrants to Hawaii</i>
1902	619,068	5,145	9,125
1903	814,507	6,923	13,045
1904	767,933	7,674	6,590
1905	974,273	3,639	6,692
1906	1,018,365	4,784	9,051
1907	1,199,566	9,361	20,865

As this table shows, the Japanese immigration to continental United States was not large, the majority of Japanese having come to Hawaii. But many of the Japanese who had come to Hawaii eventually migrated to continental United States. The protest of the Pacific Coast, which led to the conclusion of the "gentlemen's agreement," was really directed against the migration of Japanese from the Hawaiian Islands to continental United States.

The "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907, excluding Japanese laborers from America, is not in the shape of a formal treaty or agreement. The term applies simply to the substance of a number of informal notes exchanged between the State Department and the Japanese Ambassador at that time. Briefly stated, the agreement is this:

First: Japan, of her own accord, will refrain from issuing passports to Japanese laborers desiring to enter territories contiguous to continental United States, such as Mexico or Canada.

Second: Japan will recognize the right of the United States to refuse the admission to continental United States of Japanese of the laboring class whose passports do not include continental United States.

Third: Japan will issue passports to continental United States only for Japanese of the following four classes: (1) Non-laborers, such as travelers, business men, financiers, etc. (2)

Japanese, whether laborer or non-laborer, who have already become domiciled in continental United States. (3) Parents, wives or children of Japanese who have become domiciled in continental United States. (4) Japanese who have acquired farming interests in continental United States and who wish to return there to take active control of those interests.

On the basis of this understanding President Roosevelt issued, on March 14, 1907, an order excluding from continental United States "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada or Hawaii, and come therefrom." To put this executive order into operation, the Department of Commerce and Labor, on March 26, 1907, issued a circular which reads as follows:

"Aliens from Japan or Korea are subject to the general immigration laws.

"Every Japanese or Korean laborer, skilled or unskilled, applying for admission at a seaport or at a land border port of the United States, and having in his possession a passport issued by the government of Japan, entitling him to proceed only to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, shall be refused admission.

"If a Japanese or Korean alien applies for admission and presents a passport entitling him to enter the United States, or one which is limited to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, he shall be ad-

mitted, if it appears that he does not belong to any of the classes of aliens excluded by the general immigration laws.

“If a Japanese or Korean alien applies for admission and presents a passport limited to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and claims that he is not a laborer, either skilled or unskilled, reasonable proof of this claim shall be required in order to permit him to enter the United States.

“If a Japanese or Korean skilled or unskilled laborer is found in the continental territory of the United States without having been duly admitted upon inspection, the procedure employed under the general immigration laws for the arrest and hearing of aliens who have entered the United States surreptitiously shall be observed.”

The American Government, in negotiating the exclusion of Japanese laborers, was chiefly concerned with the conditions on the Pacific Coast and had no intention of applying the gentlemen's agreement to Hawaii, where sugar plantations needed Japanese labor. But the Japanese Government, of its own initiative and volition, decided to extend to Hawaii the application of the same agreement, thus issuing passports to Hawaii only to those Japanese of the laboring class who were former residents in the islands, and parents, wives or children of such residents.

We have explained the scope and nature of the exclusion understanding of 1907, and are in a

position to describe its practical working. The regulations concerning the exclusion of Japanese laborers came into effect in March, 1907; yet Japanese immigrants for the fiscal year 1907 totaled 30,226 (that is, 9,361 to continental United States, 20,865 to Hawaii), the figures being the largest in the history of Japanese immigration to America. From this the uninformed may infer that the exclusion regulations failed, in the first year at any rate, to attain the end for which they were adopted. The inference is wrong. Although the exclusion regulations were issued in March, 1907, it required a considerable time to complete the preparations necessary for their enforcement and to obtain Japanese coöperation without which they could not accomplish satisfactory results. Consequently the new arrangement did not begin to work smoothly in all its details until July or August of that year. It will, therefore, be seen that Japanese immigration for the fiscal year 1907, extending from July, 1906, to June, 1907, was affected but little by the new system. On the contrary, the high state of prosperity, which prevailed in this country during that year, brought an unusually large number of immigrants from Japan, as also from European countries. European immigrants for that year totaled 1,199,566, breaking all records in the immigration history of America. The same circumstances which

swelled the tide of European immigration produced similar effects upon Japanese immigration.

By the summer of 1907, however, the effects of the new system began to be perceptible. Japan, on her part, had been striving to put the official machinery for the control of her emigrants to America in efficient working order. Thus in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, Japanese immigrants totaled 15,803 (9,544 to continental United States, 6,259 to Hawaii), showing a decrease of 14,423 as compared with the total for the preceding year. By the summer of 1908 the official machineries of both Japan and America for the control of immigration had attained a greater degree of efficiency, in consequence of which Japanese immigrants for the year ended June 30, 1909, declined to 4,430 (2,432 to continental United States, 1,998 to Hawaii), as against which no less than 7,382 left this country for their home land, resulting in a decrease of 3,952 in the Japanese population in Hawaii and the "mainland."

We have seen that, as the result of the "gentlemen's agreement," Japanese arrivals to continental United States decreased from 9,544 in 1908 to 2,432 in 1909. In 1910 the figures were practically the same as those for the year preceding. Since 1911 the number has been gradually increasing. (See Appendix C, Statistical

Table 4.) This increase is mainly due to the following facts:

First: As I have already indicated, the "gentlemen's agreement" admits (1) former residents of the United States, (2) parents, wives and children of residents and, (3) settled agriculturists. That is, of course, in addition to non-laboring classes, such as diplomats, merchants, financiers, travelers, students, etc., who are free to come. In conformity to this agreement, Japanese residents, who had gone to Japan in large numbers in 1909 and 1910, began to return to these shores in about 1911. In the meantime, many of the Japanese residents here began to send for their parents, wives and children.

Second: Especially during the war Japanese officials, business men, etc., were obliged to pass through the United States in going to Europe, because the other routes were either closed or dangerous. The figures for such Japanese must be twice the actual number, because they are counted once at the Pacific ports upon their arrival from Japan and counted again upon their reëntrance to this country at the Atlantic ports from Europe.

Third: Due to the war, Japanese students, who would have gone to Europe under normal conditions, have been obliged to come to the United States.

Fourth: The enormous increase of American-Japanese trade due to the war caused many Japanese firms to send agents to America and to establish new offices in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, and other leading American cities. In the fiscal year 1914, that is, the year before the war, Japan imported from America \$54,-000,000 worth of goods. In 1918 this increased to \$275,000,000. In other words, Japanese purchases from America increased more than five-fold in five years. In the same period Japanese exports to America increased three times. With such phenomenal progress of trade, it was inevitable that the coming of Japanese connected with American trade, as well as their families, should become increasingly more frequent.

The "gentlemen's agreement" prohibits the admission of "new" laborers from Japan, but admits Japanese of the following three classes, whether laborers or non-laborers: (1) Former residents, who return to America within 18 months following their departure from America. (2) Parents, wives and children of Japanese residing in America. (3) Japanese who have settled in America as agriculturists.

The Japanese Government, of course, makes it a rule not to issue passports to laborers other than those coming under the above classification. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a laborer from a non-laborer. The Japanese Gov-

ernment may issue a passport to a Japanese whom it believes, upon inquiry, to be a non-laborer, but in the judgment of the American immigration authorities, this same Japanese may be regarded as a laborer. Such cases are quite conceivable.

Much has of late been said about the "picture brides." It is a great mistake to think that all Japanese women who come to America are picture brides. Not a few of them are wives of Japanese who are connected with business firms which have established offices in various parts of the United States in the past several years. Many are women who were married to their husbands before the latter left Japan for this country, and who have come to join them in America.

Wild statements have been made as to the number of "picture brides" who entered this country. Senator Phelan, for instance, stated before the House Committee on Immigration at Washington that from 1915 to 1919, 13,913 picture brides entered continental United States. But investigation made by the Japanese Associations of San Francisco and Seattle at the immigration stations at those two ports reveals that in the nine years 1912-1920, a period four years longer than that named by Mr. Phelan, not many more than 7,000 picture brides entered this country. (See Appendix C, Statistical Table 8.)

It must be understood that few, if any, picture brides enter continental United States through ports other than San Francisco and Seattle.

Perhaps the term "picture bride" is a misnomer, and calls for explanation. Briefly, "picture marriage" is this:

When a man living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons going home, he writes to his parents, asking them to find a suitable woman for his bride. The parents, following the usual customs, fix on an eligible person. Then they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health and education of the young man and woman. If this investigation proves satisfactory, both to the parents and to the prospective groom and bride, the man in America sends his photograph to the woman, and receives her photograph in exchange. This "interview" through photographs proving satisfactory to both parties, the nuptial knot is tied at a ceremonial dinner from which the groom, living in America, is naturally absent, but which is attended by the bride and the parents and relatives of both sides. This done, the parents register the marriage with the proper authorities. This marriage has been regarded as valid both by the Japanese and the

American governments. In many cases exchange of photographs is not required, because it frequently happens that the prospective groom and bride were born in the same town or village and have known each other since childhood.

If we look at it in the above light, there is nothing objectionable in the practice of "picture marriage," which, we repeat, is a gross misnomer. It is, therefore, but natural that the American Government should regard this marriage practice as legal and valid.

But in view of severe criticisms directed against this practice the Japanese Government announced on December 17, 1919, that it would stop issuing passports after the end of February, 1920.

Previous to this announcement by the Japanese Government, that is, on October 29, 1919, the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco issued the following statement, forecasting the step likely to be taken by the Japanese Government on the matter of "picture brides." The statement reads in part as follows:

"It is the sense of the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America that the so-called 'picture marriage,' which has been practiced among certain classes of Japanese residing in this country, should be abolished, because it is not only in contravention of the accepted Ameri-

can conception of marriage but is also out of harmony with the growing ideals of the Japanese themselves. With this belief in mind, the Board of Directors will make the utmost efforts to carry out this resolution.

"The Board of Directors does not entertain the slightest doubt that this recommendation will be cheerfully and readily accepted by the members of the Association as well as by Japanese residents, who are not its members. Through the persistent and painstaking campaign for Americanization which has been extensively carried on by the Japanese Association in the past several months, the Japanese in this state have come to realize that the practice of marriage through exchange of photographs is incompatible with the ideals and customs of the American people.

"We understand that the Government of Japan has also been considering the advisability of prohibiting this practice. Without awaiting a formal announcement on this matter on the part of the Japanese Government, we have come to the conclusion that we should request it to adopt adequate measures to stop this practice.

"The above decision on the part of the Board of Directors implies no intimation that 'picture marriage' is illegal and that the coming of 'picture brides' to America has been in violation of the 'gentlemen's agreement.' It must be emphasized that 'picture marriage' is a misnomer and that it is not so simple a process as the term apparently indicates."

In pursuance of the announcement of December 17, 1919, the Japanese Government stopped, at the end of February, 1920, the issuance of passports to picture brides. As the passport of the Japanese Government is valid for six months, those women who obtained passports before the end of February continued to come, though in decreasing numbers, until the end of August, 1920. Since September no picture bride has come.

Much has been said about the alleged smuggling of Japanese across the Mexican border. There is no reliable information on this matter. All that we have is exaggerated assertions and arbitrary estimates made by those who have certain ends to promote. As Dr. Jordan, Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University, puts it:

“The current statement that ‘thousands of Japanese’ enter each year from Mexico is grossly exaggerated. The alleged runaway from Yokohama to Honolulu, Guaymas and Nogales, seems to be a figment of the imagination, as was the ridiculous Magdalena Bay scare of 1912. There were at that time about six Japanese at Magdalena Bay, crab and turtle fishers, employed at the cannery of my friend Sandoval of Los Angeles. The Japanese fishermen now at Magdalena Bay came from San Diego. The best information I can get indicates that there are from 2,000 to 4,000 Japanese in Mexico. No pass-

ports for Mexico have been granted to laborers since 1908. If such a runway exists, what are our consuls in Yokohama and Guaymas doing? Vessels do not slip out of Yokohama nor into Honolulu in the dark."

It is reasonable to assume that there are a few, or even a considerable number of, Japanese smuggled across the border, but it is absurd to say that the number of such Japanese amounts to many thousands. The Japanese Government does not issue passports to Mexico. The Japanese population in Mexico is between two and three thousand.

As far as the Japanese Government is concerned, it has been doing everything in its power to prevent the clandestine entry of Japanese from Mexico to California. If there be any considerable smuggling from the south, the matter is beyond the power and control of the Japanese Government, and it is up to the American Government to look out for it. Japan would be satisfied if the American authorities would increase their vigilance on the border, and deport every Japanese whom they might find to be seeking surreptitious entrance.

As an illustration of the great pains that have been taken by the Japanese Government in forestalling the coming of its subjects to Mexico, the following fact may be mentioned:

When, a few years ago, the Japanese Consul

in Lima discovered that Japanese had been going to Mexico from Peru, he, under the instructions of the government at Tokyo, asked the Japanese steamship company not to sell tickets from Peru to any Mexican port. Of course the Japanese Government had no authority to compel the steamship company to accept such a request, which was obviously an encroachment upon the rights of the business concern. But the company (Toyo Kisen Kaisha), mindful of amicable relationship between Japan and the United States, cheerfully acceded to the request of the government, and has for some years past been denying itself the right of issuing tickets reading from Peru to Mexico.

When the Japanese in Peru found out that their exodus to Mexico had been checked by this agreement, between the government and the steamship company, they began to buy tickets clear to Tokyo, announcing their intention to go back to Japan. Of course the steamship company could not refuse to issue tickets to those who wished to go home. Soon, however, it transpired that some of these Japanese, pretending to go home, would land at Salina Cruz, when the steamer stopped at that port. Not infrequently they would force their way ashore at the point of the rifle, should the captain of the steamer attempt to detain them. There is no means of obtaining accurate information as to

the extent to which this devious method of going to Mexico has been practiced.

The Japanese Government is at a loss to know how to prevent this migration from Peru to Mexico. Obviously it cannot put an injunction upon the issuance of steamship tickets to Japanese who desire to return home from a foreign country. That is why we say that the matter of smuggling across the Mexican border is beyond the control of the Japanese Government, and that it must be adjusted by the increased vigilance of the immigration authorities of the United States.

CHAPTER V

THE FORCES OF ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION

"Historic revivals of hunting urge make an interesting recital of religious inquisitions, witch-burnings, college hazings, persecution of suffragettes, of the I. W. W., of the Japanese, or of the pacifists. All this goes on often under naïve rationalization about justice and patriotism, but it is pure and innate lust to run something down and hurt it."—CARLETON PARKER.

"There are certain definite political policies which, if adopted, would greatly advance the good order and the peace of the world. One of these is an obligation that rests upon the people of the United States. The Congress should promptly heed the advice given by many of the wisest and most experienced Americans to provide by law that the Government of the United States may, on its own motion and in its own courts, enforce the rights granted to aliens by treaty. One President after another has asked for this legislation. Until this legislation is had the Government of the United States will always be at a serious disadvantage in negotiating treaties with other Powers, and it will be compelled to look with helpless disapproval upon acts often committed in sheer thoughtlessness that involve the honor and the good faith of the United States."—NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

Way down south in the Imperial Valley of California is a town called Calexico. Some time last fall (1920) Japanese farmers there were hosts to a number of American business men and their wives at a banquet at an American hotel. The vice president of the leading bank in Calex-

ico, in behalf of the guests, thanked the Japanese in these words:

"I wish to thank you for this invitation, and I am glad to be with you. If our government is going to exclude Japanese from this country, it should also exclude all other undesirable elements of foreign nations."

The following day the Callexico post of the American Legion, which tried hard to forestall the banquet, came out with violent denunciations of the Americans who accepted the Japanese hospitality.

In the central part of Northern California is another town called Lodi, a thriving farming center in the San Joaquin Valley. One evening last summer a number of Japanese farmers and business men of Lodi asked the leading Americans of the city to be their guests at a dinner. Among the Americans present were the Mayor and City Attorney of Lodi, the President of the Lodi Business Men's Association, and bankers and merchants. Upon the heels of this meeting came a resolution of the Lodi post of the American Legion, condemning the American participants in the banquet and declaring "that we look with disfavor and disapproval on any gathering intended to promote good fellowship and social affiliation between the Japanese and our own people."

Up in Seattle the Congressional Committee on

Immigration held public hearings in August, 1920. Here, again, legionnaires were very obtrusive, as an editorial in the *Seattle Union Record* apprises us in these words:

“Another feature of the inquiry is the presence of a military group in the background that keeps in constant touch with Mr. Johnson or Mr. Raker of the committee. This group, composed of men like Miller Freeman, Colonel Inglis, Philip Tindall, does not make a pleasant decoration for an inquiry on Oriental affairs—an inquiry that should be kept as far from military influence as it is possible to keep it.”

The passage of an anti-alien land law by the state legislature of Washington in March, 1921, was mainly due to the activities of the legion men. A similar law had been defeated by the initiative, its proponents having failed to secure enough signatures to submit it to the popular vote. But when the bill was introduced to the legislature the legionnaires virtually stormed the capitol at Olympia. It is freely admitted that threat and intimidation were employed in securing the passage of the bill.

When the legislature of Oregon was discussing a similar law, a body of legion men made themselves very conspicuous at Salem. One of them appeared before the Senate committee and shouted: “If war must come because of this anti-

Japanese law, let us have it; we can put 5,000,000 soldiers in the field on short notice!"

The attitude of ex-soldiers towards the Japanese is but a reflection of their general attitude towards the world. They came home from the battlefields, many restless and dissatisfied, some sullen and disgruntled. They were inclined to blame those who stayed home and became prosperous. They were perhaps just as much displeased with their compatriots as with the Japanese, who remained in America and shared in the general prosperity that prevailed here during the war. But it was natural for them to throw bricks at the Japanese rather than at their countrymen, because the Japanese were aliens, powerless and unprotected. Of course the American soldiers never stopped to think that many of these Japanese would have gone to the front and fought shoulder to shoulder with them, had they been permitted to enlist.

In addition to the activities of legion men, office-seeking politicians, actuated by selfish motives, greatly aggravated the situation. The agitation in California furnishes the best illustration.

Representative Isaac Siegel, a member of the House Immigration Committee which investigated the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast in the summer of 1920, issued, upon his return to

New York, a statement, charging the ill feeling towards the Japanese in California to the machinations and agitations of political aspirants. Some Californians naturally resent this charge. But even in California there are many who would agree with Mr. Siegel.

That industrious assailant of the Japanese, Mr. James D. Phelan, hoped to be reëlected as United States Senator upon the sole issue of the "Japanese menace." "Keep California white" was the watchword which crowned every photograph of himself published in the newspapers to advertise his candidacy.

Writing in a San Francisco newspaper which has manufactured much of the wind for the sails of the anti-Japanese agitation, Edward H. Hamilton, a veteran political writer in California, frankly stated as follows just before the last election:

"The Republicans at the last legislature, in a splendid burst of stupidity, let Phelan get away with the best slogan in campaigning since Denis Kearney tipped over both the old parties. That slogan is: 'The Japanese must go!' With half political genius, Governor Stephens and President pro tem. Breed and the other Republicans might have taken that battle-cry away from Phelan, but they hadn't the sense to do it—and in all justice the fanfarron of that advance belongs to the Democratic nominee."

Besides Mr. Phelan a coterie of other gentlemen also sought to ride into political office on the crest of the anti-Japanese wave which they had themselves set moving.

The pressure of these politicians was mainly responsible for the recent change of attitude on the part of Governor William D. Stephens of California. Though by no means a sympathizer with the Japanese, the Governor had nevertheless adopted a temperate and sensible view of the question, and had occasionally meted out admonitions to those who had made business of "swatting the Japs." Of such admonitions the following, dated January 21, 1920, is a splendid example:

"In my opinion the present agitation in California was inspired by candidacy for office. It is true that many worthy citizens have now allied themselves with it for laudable purposes. The fact remains, however, that the dominant factors in the movement are actuated by their desires for political preferment.

"For five years one member of the State's congressional delegation at Washington [Senator Phelan] has occupied a seat in the U. S. Senate. With exceptional opportunity, because of his affiliation with the national administration, he has accomplished nothing in all that time toward keeping Japanese undesirables away from our shores. Now that he is a candidate for re-

election, he raises an outcry about the Jap question, and his political emissaries, proclaiming everywhere his present voluble activities, fail to mention his previous legislative inactivities.

"Manifestly, the grave concern he now expresses awakened only when he found it necessary to create an agitation on which he might ride back into office.

"Further proof that the present agitation has largely become a candidates' agitation is furnished by the fact that still another senatorial aspirant [Mr. Kent] has lately joined in the hue and cry and is widely accused by friends of the incumbent senator of trying to 'steal the thunder' of their candidate. Would-be candidates are also joining in this agitation in the hope of winning political favor."

Chagrined by such admonitions, the advocates of Phelanism left no stones unturned in their efforts to discredit the Governor on the Japanese issue. Their propaganda had become so alarming that the Governor was at last compelled to step down from his pedestal of aloofness for fear that his political fortune and that of his party might be imperiled, if he persisted in declining to join in the legion of anti-Japanese politicians. The result was a dramatic appeal to the Federal Government, in his memorial to Secretary Colby dated June 19, 1920, virtually adopting most of the program advocated by Mr. Phelan and his

cohorts. In the parlance of the political world, this move on the part of Governor Stephens was merely a move to steal Mr. Phelan's thunder. As the Governor is seeking reelection next year, he will undoubtedly himself utilize the method which he had once so vigorously denounced.

The politicians and fire-eaters find a good ally in a large section of the California press, for California, and especially San Francisco and Los Angeles, is noted for its peculiar papers. Not a day passes that these newspapers do not publish anti-Japanese news stories or editorials, often absolutely groundless, always conceived to rouse suspicion or resentment towards the Japanese. To incite public sentiment against the Japanese and thus aid the passage of the Alien Land Law, the newspapers, as the 1920 election drew nigh, even published stories of an alleged Japanese attempt to poison a "society" woman in Los Angeles and an alleged Japanese assault on an American girl in San Francisco—stories which have been found absolutely groundless. (For further discussion of the press see Chapter VIII.)

Fair-minded and intelligent Americans are well aware of this perversion by the press. Mr. John B. Wallace, a California newspaper man and orange grower, writing in Mr. Henry Ford's Dearborn *Independent*, makes these pertinent and informing remarks:

"Just the other day the yellow press came out

with big headlines accusing the Japanese of violating the fishing laws in regard to the three-mile limit, and asserted that they were openly defying the authorities and had fired on the wardens. As a matter of fact it was not the Japanese fishermen at all, but Austrians who were rebelling against the government, and instead of breaking the rules the Japanese were actually assisting in enforcing them. Most of the other newspapers acknowledged their mistake, but if the yellow press showed any tendency to set the public right I failed to notice it.

"I have noticed this unfairness in nearly all California papers, especially in the reports of the hearings before the immigration committee. They have universally adopted the old trick of playing up in the headlines all testimony unfavorable to the Japanese, while burying in the body of the article the testimony in their favor. In publishing the report of the Board of Control they selected and played up only the facts that militated against the Japanese, although the report comprehensively embraced a mass of testimony in their favor. Such a course, when pursued by practically every newspaper in the state, is bound to arouse prejudice and racial feeling against the Japanese, especially among those who have no personal acquaintance among them."

To a student of social problems, the exploitation of the Japanese question by Pacific Coast newspapers is an interesting, often amusing, sub-

ject of study. When a paper comes out as a crusader against the Japanese, there are usually to be found sinister motives lurking behind the campaign. A few examples will suffice.

A daily journal, identified with organized labor, sells itself to capital in a strike. The strike fails, and capital has no more use for the "yellow sheet." Deserted by capital and scorned by labor which it has betrayed, the paper finds itself between the devil and the deep sea. Soon it starts a spectacular propaganda against the Japanese, thus hoping to regain labor's favor.

Another newspaper tries to extort a handsome sum of money from a Japanese community. The Japanese reject the advance. Soon afterward the paper embarks upon a campaign of defamation against the Japanese. A third is interested in the expansion of the American Navy, and with that end in view holds up the Japanese bogy before the public.

As with newspapers, so with individuals. A Japanese buys a city home from a real-estate agent; whereupon another agent, who failed to make a deal with him, bestirs himself and spreads the evil tidings of a "Japanese invasion" throughout the city.

Again, two rival agents try to sell a farm to a Japanese. The Japanese deals with one agent, whose offer is more reasonable, and the other disgruntled agent sends for the leaders of an anti-

Japanese organization and holds a mass meeting to stir up animosity towards all Japanese in the village.

When I recall such incidents, of which I could write a volume, I am almost inclined to lose faith in the goodness of human nature. Surely, you will begin to think that after all America is not an apotheosis of justice and humanity.

Left alone by busybodies, the Japanese and Americans in California can get along amicably together. This is not an assertion but a fact. We see American workmen toiling side by side with Japanese in the rice fields or orchards, with no friction between them. We see American farmers employing Japanese, and Japanese farmers employing American laborers. In either case there is no trouble.

Traveling through Montana and Washington one sees American or rather Caucasian laborers working on railroads under Japanese foremen, as often as one sees Japanese working under Caucasian foremen. In California it is nothing strange to see American workers toiling side by side with Japanese, with no friction between them. They sleep under the same roofs, and eat at the same tables. While the American farmers and landowners are eager to employ Japanese farm hands, the American farm hands are glad to work for the Japanese. Where the two races

come in direct and intimate contact there is no trouble.

True, in the past few months I have seen anti-Japanese posters and placards put up in a few interior towns. "No more Japanese wanted here," or "No Japanese employed here," are the words painted on such placards. But here, too, I must emphasize what I have already said, namely, that any community can be aroused against any race by a persistent propaganda such as has been carried on against the Japanese by politicians and newspapers. In the past year or more the California Anti-Oriental League, sponsored by Senator Phelan and his political cohorts, has honeycombed the state with anti-Japanese meetings, poisoning the minds and hearts of well-meaning townsfolk and villagers. But for this agitation there would have been no sinister posters and placards in any part of California.

Even the prejudiced newspapers of California admit this to be a fact when they feel free to tell the truth. Shortly before the present recrudescence of agitation the Monterey *Cypress* had this to say:

"It is a curious thing, and a sad commentary upon the attitude of the American employer towards labor, that American laborers will, by personal preference, enter the employ of a Japanese orchardist or rancher, when the same opportunity for employment is offered by American ranchers and orchardists."

About the same time the San Jose *Mercury* reported that "when there is a chance of getting work under a Japanese the men here make for it as fast as they can."

According to the Municipal Employment Bureau of San Jose the popularity of the Japanese farmers is due to the fact that they are, as a rule, considerate employers. As an American laborer, who applied to that bureau for a job, puts it, "the Japanese give their farm hands white sheets and treat them like white men," which American employers of farm hands in California do not often do.

George Shima, the well-known "potato king" and president of the Japanese Association, who has a host of friends among influential Americans throughout the state, addressed an appeal to the people of California just before the last election. I am sure that he does not misinterpret or misunderstand the situation when he says in that appeal:

"We know that there is no trouble between Americans and Japanese who come in direct and intimate contact with each other. Americans who employ or are employed by Japanese have no complaints against us. American business men and bankers who have dealt with Japanese have little to say against us. American workmen are willing and eager to work for Japanese. They work harmoniously and friendlily side by side with Japanese laborers. Why allow out-

siders, who know little about us, who have their own axes to grind, to stir up ill feeling and animosity where there is no cause for them?

"We recognize that racial difference engenders a race feeling. But no one will deny that this is a feeling which should not be fostered or deliberately stirred up. All sensible men will agree that it is criminal to exploit that feeling for ulterior purposes.

"The hope of our age lies in the effort to minimize race feeling. Its spirit, its ideal, its tendency is not to emphasize, but to alleviate, racial difference. If we make business of fanning and feeding race feeling, there can be no hope of international peace, and all efforts for a league of nations must be set at naught. Surely race feeling should not be injected where there is no occasion for it."

As George Shima states, it is but natural that the contact of two different races engenders a race feeling. As between the Japanese and Americans, however, that feeling, if not deliberately exploited by those with their own axes to grind, will create no such wide chasm as would baffle the ameliorating processes of Time and Nature, because their social disadvantage in the American community under normal condition has never been very great. Different as the Japanese are from other races, that difference is not so great as to create an insurmountable social

barrier against them. Even in the present extraordinary condition, engendered by persistent and deliberate agitation, there is in California no disposition to discriminate against the Japanese at hotels and restaurants, in public places of entertainment, or in public conveyances. In "society" their disadvantage is not so much racial as it is economic or financial. The Japanese community has not yet evolved millionaires or a leisure class, but still consists of hard-working pioneers yet unaccustomed to, or unable to indulge in, the amenities of social life. It is not in the cards of "society" to admit into its circles members of a race consisting mostly of work-a-day men and women. What disadvantage the Japanese may encounter in society is due to snobbism, rather than racial feeling, on the part of Americans of wealth and leisure. If this is not the case, how do we account for the fact that even in California well-to-do and cultured Japanese, capable of conforming to the conventions of society, are welcome among Americans of the corresponding class?

It is absurd to speak of the Japanese question in California in the same breath as the Negro question in the South. Intellectually and physically, socially and individually, and in their respective cultural and historical backgrounds, there is no similarity between the two races. When you say that America, troubled by the

Negro question, cannot afford to invite another race question in the form of Japanese immigration, you offer a grave insult to the Japanese. It is no fault of Japan's that you have the Negro problem. To charge the consequences of one's own folly and selfishness to an innocent outsider is not a fair game.

It is a notable fact that in the present agitation organized labor is not the leader but rather a follower. The leaders have been politicians and their allies. Of course organized labor even to-day has not much love to lose upon the Japanese, for it always looks upon alien incursion, whether from Asia or from Europe, with disfavor. But the significant fact is that it evinces but lukewarm interest in this political agitation whose purpose is to make "goats" of the voteless Japanese.

Of this statement the resolution adopted in September, 1920, by the Stockton Labor Council and the Sacramento Federated Trades Council bears testimony. Declaring that the "Oriental question has become one of the burning issues of the day" and that "propaganda is being spread by designing parties," the resolution makes these recommendations: (1) Absolute restriction of all alien immigration. (2) No fight to be made upon any person or persons who are legal residents of the United States. (3) Organize all workers who are capable of taking a union man's

job. (4) We do not favor the removal of the Oriental from land to the industries.

Up to 1913, the year in which the alien land law was adopted by the California legislature, Japanese labor may justly have been regarded as "cheap labor." To-day this sounds like the fiction of an obsolete book. For the Japanese no longer works for less wages than are paid their Caucasian fellows. In the particular case of farm labor the Japanese gets even more than the American. Where an American farm hand is paid \$3.50 to \$4.00 per day, Japanese are paid \$4.50 to \$5.00. Thus the Japanese, instead of competing with the Americans, are being competed with by the Americans. This is unquestionably due to the scarcity of Japanese labor caused by the operation of the gentlemen's agreement entered into by our two governments in 1907 for the restriction of Japanese immigration. Is it any wonder that organized labor ceased to be the motive power in the chronic anti-Japanese agitation? Even the *Union Labor Record*, the daily organ of Seattle organized labor, looks complacently upon the Japanese question and expresses such liberal views as this:

"Labor's interest in the Oriental question is great, perhaps greatest of all. Labor asks that justice be done to all parties concerned. Labor does not believe that it can make any gain through human injustice. Labor believes that

justice can be gained only through the truth, based upon exact facts."

At the convention of the California Federation of Labor held at Fresno in the fall of 1920, William J. McQuillan, vice president of the Federation for the Sacramento district, read a report in which the following significant reference to the Japanese question was made:

"I do not think my report would be complete if I did not touch on that vital subject, the Oriental Question. During the past year I have given much attention and study to the Japanese question particularly as it affects the farmer, the worker and the merchant. I am frank to say that I cannot conceive that the Japanese encroaches on the worker, and I feel that if he did, not so much agitation would be before us. To put it plain, if the big interests were able to exploit the Jap laborer, why everywhere would be satisfactory.

"Now, I do not for one instant desire to be misunderstood as being a Japanese proponent, etc. On the other hand I feel that the laboring classes always welcome facts. There may be some of those who are sincere in advocating the exclusion of the Japanese, but it is safe to believe that as many are not. I have been advised that a certain owner and editor of a local newspaper in the past directly leased his land to Japs, and at this time is indirectly leasing the same."

In conclusion the present feeling against the Japanese is not based upon actual need but upon hysteria created by the designing politicians, newspapers and certain elements of the American Legion.

This is clear from the fact that before California politicians began to agitate the question two years ago or, to be more exact, up to the end of 1918, California heard little talk of the Japanese menace, though, of course, the Hearst papers had been more or less diligently harping upon it. The atmosphere was so favorable to the Japanese that even the *San Francisco Call*, just purchased by the Hearst interests, came out, on September 11, 1918, with this courageous editorial,—courageous for a San Francisco newspaper:

“The alien land act was passed five years ago to meet what seemed, to perhaps a majority of Californians, an immediate need. It was feared at the time that much of the land of the state might pass into the hands of a people who had a lower standard of living than that of the ordinary Western farmer. Perhaps a little hysteria infected the action which was so generally approved at the time. Had we looked about us we might have seen that at least as much danger of lowered standards lay in the existence of great, unused, undeveloped holdings, in the exorbitant

increases in the price of land held on speculation, in the excessive interest charges loaded upon a large portion of the farmers, and in the increase of tenancy over free ownership. The first Japanese farmers met these conditions in the wrong way because no other way was open to them. As they could not make headway against entrenched privilege, they paid what privilege asked and made their profits by cutting down their living expenses. But as they become Americanized, this recourse is less and less palatable to them. All over California their standards of living have risen, as have those of other immigrants.

“Some change in the law is probably needed to meet the change in the conditions, but it will not be brought about by a contest between ‘pro-Japanese’ on the one hand and ‘anti-Japanese’ on the other. The question is a domestic one, not one of international relations, and will remain so as long as the Japanese government holds so honorably to the ‘gentlemen’s agreement.’ Why should it not be discussed in friendly fashion between representatives of the Japanese farmers of the state and representatives of the non-Japanese farmers. A mutually satisfactory way of mitigating some of the more irksome features of the law might be found, and when found enacted by the legislature. The loyal attitude of the California Japanese entitles them to at least this much consideration, and their neighbors are probably quite willing to give it to them.”

In the summer of 1918, the State Board of Agriculture asked the Japanese farmers to participate in its annual exhibition at Sacramento. Japanese exhibits were greatly appreciated and elicited favorable comments from the press.

So friendly, or so little antagonistic, public feeling towards the Japanese seemed to be, that even Mr. C. K. McClatchy, publisher of the *Sacramento Bee* (which has recently been directing stinging criticism against the Japanese), was favorably inclined to the idea of liberalizing the provisions of the alien land law adopted in 1913. Under his instruction a reporter of the *Bee* sounded the sentiment of the American farmers and landowners round about Sacramento, and, as a result of the inquiry, submitted in the early spring of 1919, the following report to Mr. McClatchy:

"I can see no harm but considerable good in the extending of the period of lease for agricultural lands to Japanese farmers, but I do not think it would be either wise or politic to even broach, at this time, the subject of extending the ownership privilege.

"I have been thinking over the lease matter for some time, and have talked to farmers, both white and Japanese, on the subject. I would say that a longer term of lease would be beneficial to the white landowner, to the Japanese and to the state, for it would have an influence in main-

taining the fertility of soils and the productivity of orchards.

“Under a short-time lease (the present term of 3 years) the Japanese tenant tries to get everything he can out of the soil or the orchard during the term of the lease. He gives no attention to a permanent type of agriculture, does not fertilize except just enough to make his own crops yield abundantly and leaves the soil in a depleted condition. In the orchard he prunes the trees to make them yield a maximum for a three year period and orchardists say it has taken them a season or two to get their trees back to a productive state after this treatment. To many orchardists the long-term lease would be a blessing. I don't know that the Japanese is to be blamed for his attitude—he is but human in trying to get all he can in the short time he is allowed.

“From a general standpoint California should do everything to encourage a permanent type of agriculture, and this can be encouraged only through having one man upon the land a long time. Otherwise it is clear that the natural tendency would be to ‘milk the soil dry’ and move on to the next piece.

“Another argument made by a Japanese farmer has to do with the thousands of acres of rich wooded land along the rivers. He made the statement that if Japanese farmers were allowed a long term of lease they would be glad to clear this land on a share basis and thus make pro-

ductive land which is now producing nothing. This, of course, would be a benefit to the State and to humanity.

"I do not think a man would be doing anything against the welfare of his State in urging a lengthening of the leasing privilege. As to the matter of extending the ownership privilege, I don't know of anything that calls for it at this time. After the period of lease has been lengthened and the new order given a thorough trial, conditions then might warrant permitting Japanese to own land. I cannot see that this would be of such great importance to them from a practical standpoint, however, as most of the Japanese who intend staying in California are raising children who will become citizens and who may own land.

"From a standpoint of policy it seems to me that to couple any suggestion of extending the ownership privilege with the campaign for a long-time lease would be injurious if not fatal to the first project. I think that an anti-public sentiment would flare up at the mention of allowing Japanese to own land—at least at this time."

Mr. V. S. McClatchy, who has of late been in the forefront of the anti-Japanese agitation, stated, at a hearing held at Sacramento by the Congressional Committee on Immigration in the summer of 1920, that I did his brother, C. K. McClatchy, injustice when I said in a private letter that he (Mr. C. K. McClatchy) was

favorably inclined to the Japanese. But the authenticity of the above document cannot be denied—a document prepared by a reporter of the *Bee* at the instance of Mr. C. K. McClatchy. It is charitable to presume that Mr. V. S. McClatchy did not know of the existence of that document and the circumstances which led to its preparation, for he was abroad at that time.

What is said in that document is as true to-day as it was in the spring of 1920. In adopting the new anti-alien land law, California flew in the face of truth and stabbed humanity in the back.

CHAPTER VI

AN ORGY OF ANTI-JAPANESE LEGISLATION

"Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan, or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the state, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is, of course, peculiarly incumbent on every government official, whether of the nation or of the several states."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Many people in the Eastern states were surprised that California's anti-Japanese Land Initiative Law was adopted at the election of November, 1920, by so large a majority as 668,483 to 222,086, or about 3 to 1.

In California everybody is amazed that the majority was so small. As California's registered voters last year numbered 1,374,184, the votes that passed the Alien Land Law were a minority of the registered voters. Thus the victory of its proponents was far from overwhelming.

On the eve of the election it was a universal belief in California that the Alien Land Law would be adopted almost unanimously. Its proponents had boastfully announced that it would pass by a vote of at least 9 to 1. The public accepted this prediction with no dissenting voice. The Japanese, in calm resignation, expected nothing better.

This universal forecast was supported by ample reason. For two years or more, a coterie of politicians had conducted a vigorous propaganda against the Japanese. Up and down the state they marshaled formidable anti-Japanese forces. They organized a dozen associations under various names, all aimed at the persecution of the Japanese. The American Legion, or at least many of its California posts, rallied under their flag. That celebrated body, the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, accepted their leadership. They had the solid backing of the press, with Mr. Hearst's enterprising papers and the *Sacramento Bee* in the forefront.

In the early stages of this agitation Governor Stephens openly and vigorously denounced agitators, attributing their motive to political preferment. In those days the essential facts concerning the Japanese were known to the Governor. And yet the Republican Governor, on the eve of the Democratic National Conven-

tion in San Francisco, proclaimed from the housetops that he and his party were just as anti-Japanese as the Democratic Senator from California and his party.

In the face of this propaganda, political and journalistic, "decent Christians" in California sat still and watched the performance of the agitators, with apprehension perhaps, but with folded arms. They were in sympathy with the Japanese, but were too "decent" to go to the bat and give battle to the agitators. As for the Japanese, they were helpless and hopeless. To them the channel of publicity was completely closed. If a Japanese Association sent out a correction to a falsehood issued by the other side and given wide publicity by the press, it was completely ignored by the editors. Very often the editors would print only those parts of our statements which were favorable to the other side. At times they would distort and garble our statements so as to convey ideas exactly opposite to what we intended to convey.

Such was the atmosphere in which the Alien Land Law was born and nurtured. Is it any wonder that the unanimous adoption of the law was expected alike by the Japanese and by the Americans? Can it be wondered that California was amazed by the smallness of the vote which passed that law?

In the face of the vitriolic campaign waged

against the Japanese during the past two years, it seems nothing short of a miracle that so many votes as 222,086 were cast against the law and in favor of the Japanese.

Of California's 1,374,184 registered voters 386,552 did not vote on November 2. It is reasonable to presume that a great majority of these 386,552 were intelligent, fair-minded, and naturally sympathetic towards the Japanese. They were disgusted with politics and politicians, and went on a sort of political "hunger strike." Had these intelligent, fair-minded voters voted, I am quite certain that the vote in favor of the Japanese would have been much larger. With these voters forfeiting their votes, with other sympathetic citizens taking but lukewarm interest in the Japanese, we have nevertheless seen 222,086 votes cast against the anti-Japanese law.

True, on the eve of the election some public-spirited, justice-loving Californians became alarmed by the extremes to which the anti-Japanese agitation had carried itself, and voluntarily came to the rescue of the Japanese. These Californians not only had the courage of their convictions but made a considerable material sacrifice to place their arguments before the public. But this movement came too late. It came after an anti-Japanese sentiment had been so extensively and intensively cultivated by the propagandists that the publication at the eleventh hour

of a few arguments in the advertising columns of the newspapers could have no material effect upon the vote.

How, then, can we account for the failure of the universal prediction that the Alien Land Law would be adopted by a vote of 9 to 1? In the judgment of experienced observers, the main reason lies in the fact that the present anti-Japanese feeling is not a spontaneous but a manufactured one, founded upon neither the pressing need nor the real fear of the people of California. Had the Japanese constituted a real and imminent menace, half the agitation that was directed against them would have been enough to set a race feeling aflame and secure an undivided vote upon any such proposition as the Alien Land Law.

The fact of the matter is that the growth of the Japanese population or Japanese land holdings is yet far from a stage wherein the bogey of the Japanese menace can be effectively employed to scare the public or to stir up race hatred against the Japanese. The situation may be summed up somewhat like this: Most of the intelligent Californians, who think about the question at all, and who constitute the minority, are with the Japanese. Most of the unthinking Californians, who naturally constitute the majority of the voting population, are against the Japa-

nese, not for any particular reason but because they are influenced by agitation.

So much for the passage of the Alien Land Law. Its full text will be found towards the end of this book. (See Appendix B.) The main points of the law are as follows:

1. To prohibit land ownership by Japanese.
2. To prohibit leasing of farm land by Japanese.
3. To prohibit the acquisition of real property by American-born Japanese minors (who are American citizens), under the guardianship of their parents.
4. To deprive the Japanese parents of their natural right to be the guardians to their minor sons or daughters owning real property.
5. To prohibit the Japanese from taking any interest in any American company or corporation owning real property.
6. To escheat real property to the state upon certain *prima facie* presumptions.

Not content with the passage of an anti-Japanese land law in their own state, the California agitators wrote letters to politicians and men of their own type in the neighboring states, instigating them to follow their example and urge the adoption of similar laws.

Anti-alien agitation is like an epidemic. Once started in a state, it quickly spreads into other states, and as it spreads it gathers momentum,

driving many people to hysteria even where there is no real cause for excitement. Aided by persistent, organized propaganda conducted by California agitators, this "mental epidemic" has spread with double pace.

The outcome of this epidemic may be seen in the following table giving eleven Western states where an anti-alien land law, more or less modeled after the California law, has been proposed in the legislature in the spring of 1921:

<i>State</i>	<i>Adopted</i>	<i>Rejected</i>
Oregon		Feb. 19, 1921
Washington	March 2, 1921	
Idaho		Feb. 28, 1921
Montana		March 2, 1921
Utah		Feb. 28, 1921
Colorado	April 4, 1921 (Constitutional Amendment to be voted upon by people 1922.)	
Nebraska	Feb. 15, 1921	
Arizona	Feb. 25, 1921	
Texas	March 9, 1921	
New Mexico	(Constitutional Amendment to be voted on by people Sept., 1921.)	
Nevada		Rejected

That no real cause or reason exists for anti-Japanese legislation in these states I have fully

explained in Chapter II, "the 'Hawaiianization' of the Pacific Coast." It was the epidemic germ scattered by California propagandists which caused the anti-Japanese eruption in other Western states.

Towards the fall of 1920 the state of Washington saw the organization of an Anti-Japanese League, inspired by the senior organization in California. This league, encouraged by the passage of the alien land initiative law in California, launched in November, 1920, a movement for an initiative measure even more drastic than that of its California prototype. It may be summarized as follows:

1. To prohibit land ownership by aliens, and to limit to two years ownership of lands acquired by inheritance or in due course of the collection of debts by such aliens.

2. To prohibit absolutely the leasing of farm lands by aliens.

3. To restrict to six months the leasing of non-farming lands by aliens.

4. To deprive alien parents of their natural right to act as guardians to their minor children, who are American citizens owning real property.

5. To escheat real property owned by aliens upon certain *prima facie* presumptions.

6. To impose drastic supervision over corporations, owning real property, and in which any alien may have an interest or hold stock.

7. To punish any person who may violate

this Act by imprisonment not exceeding two years or by a fine not exceeding \$5,000.00, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

In order to submit this measure to the popular vote, its proponents had to secure some 42,000 signatures. This they failed to accomplish, and the initiative bill was not presented to the people who were on the whole apathetic towards the agitation. But in the legislature which convened in January, 1921, the Anti-Japanese League caused a bill, even more stringent than the abortive initiative measure, to be introduced. To secure its passage, the Anti-Japanese League, reënforced by American Legion men, freely employed intimidation and threat. The politicians, cowed by them, did not dare oppose the bill on the legislative floor. Thus the bill passed the Senate and the House by a large majority early in March, 1921, and was soon signed by the Governor.

To show the difference between the initiative law that failed, and the act adopted by the legislature, the following summary of the latter is presented:

1. To prohibit land ownership by aliens, who have not declared their intention to become citizens, including corporations, a majority of whose stock is owned by such aliens, except lands ac-

quired by inheritance, or under mortgage, or in due course of collecting debts.

2. To prohibit absolutely the leasing and renting of farm land by such aliens.

3. To impose drastic supervision over corporations owning real property and in which any alien may have an interest or hold stock.

4. To prohibit such aliens to act as trustees, executors, administrators or guardians, for any estate, including real property, allowing a grace of two years to aliens now acting in such capacities.

5. To escheat real property, acquired in violation of this Act to the state.

6. To prohibit such aliens to hold land by inheritance or under mortgage foreclosure for more than 12 years from the date of title so acquired, the violation thereof—the land shall be forfeited to the state.

7. Persons violating this Act are guilty of a gross misdemeanor.

Since 1889 Washington has had a law prohibiting land ownership by aliens, except where title is acquired by inheritance, or in good faith under mortgage, or in the ordinary process of justice followed in the collection of debts. This prohibition applied both to agricultural land and city property, excepting mineral lands and lands used for manufacturing products therefrom. Though the law does not forbid the leasing of land by aliens, there are decisions of the state

Supreme Court limiting leases to reasonable terms. In view of these provisions in force since 1889, there is no need for a new law for the protection of the interest of the state.

As we have noted in Chapter II, the Japanese in Washington, either in respect of their number or in respect of the lands they cultivate, constitute no alarming factor. (See Appendix C, Tables 3, 22-25.) The total improved farm land area of the state, exclusive of that in the Federal Domain, amounts to 6,573,548 acres, of which the Japanese operate under lease about 20,500 acres, which is less than one-third of one per cent. of the total. In other words, the Japanese operate under lease only one acre in every 318. Nor has there been such an invasion of business enterprises by the Japanese as would work a detriment or in any way prove injurious to the state or its several communities.

So much for the anti-alien land legislation in Washington.

In Oregon a bill, similar in wording and provision to the new California land law, was proposed in the state legislature. Here, too, American Legion men made themselves very conspicuous, flocking to Salem and urging the solons to pass the anti-Japanese land law. At one of the committee meetings of the legislature a legion man shouted that America was ready to fight Japan any time, for she could put 5,000,000 men

in the field on short notice. On February 15, 1921, the lower House passed the bill by a vote of 34 to 25. But on February 19 the Senate rejected the same bill by a vote of 20 to 9. While the two Houses were considering the bill Mr. Charles L. McNary, United States Senator from Oregon, had a conference with Senator Lodge at Washington with a view to ascertaining the opinion of the national administration on the Japanese question. As a result of this conference Senator McNary wired State Senator Lachmund at Salem as follows:

“With Senator Lodge, chairman of the foreign relations committee, I discussed to-day the Japanese question from a Federal standpoint. He gave as his opinion that the Government early in the next administration would take care of this question in a way satisfactory to the Western people, and that the states concerned should take no action that might lead to governmental embarrassment in consideration of this important subject.”

In Idaho an alien land law of a very mild nature was proposed in the legislature, denying landownership to any alien whose native country did not allow aliens to enjoy the same privilege. Even to this moderate legislation there was strong opposition on the part of Americans. On January 23, 1921, twelve thousand citizens of Boise and vicinity held a mass meeting at the

First Congregational Church in Boise and unani-
mously adopted the following resolution:

“RESOLVED: That in mass meeting assembled this audience express its convictions that, in all matters of legislation concerning the discussed question of Japanese people in America, we advise the restriction of further immigration for the present at least, but that those who have been here for years and are Americans in spirit be given citizenship if they meet the high needed conditions of the same and that they be treated with the same consideration as we treat all peoples under the Stars and Stripes.”

Needless to add that the bill was rejected by the legislature of Idaho.

In January, representatives of state legislatures of Oregon, Washington and Idaho were to have held a conference at Portland for the purpose of adopting a uniform anti-Japanese program among the three states. This idea was advanced by Representative Sheldon, of the Oregon legislature, who had a resolution adopted by the Oregon Senate and House, inviting Washington and Idaho to send legislative representatives to the conference. But neither Idaho nor Washington agreed to send delegates, and the much-heralded confab proved abortive.

Down south on the Rio Grande River the townsfolk of a little place called Harlingen made much ado about what they thought to be the

sign of a forthcoming "Japanese invasion." Texas had never had a Japanese population to speak of and Japanese landholdings had been a negligible quantity. Naturally there had never been ill feeling towards the Japanese. On the contrary the Americans and Japanese in the state had always been on the best of terms.

Early in January, 1921, F. Z. Bishop, an enterprising real-estate agent of San Antonio, taking advantage of anti-Japanese agitation in California, tried to bring Japanese from the Golden State to the farming district in the neighborhood of Harlingen. In this attempt, both Bishop and the prospective Japanese buyers followed a course extremely unwise. With good intentions, they made it appear that a large number of Japanese were coming to the Rio Grande Valley with considerable sums to invest in Texas lands. The realty men thought that this would boost the territory and please the people of Harlingen. But the dose proved too generous, and produced an unexpected effect. Harlingen, instead of seeing the bright prospects pictured by the realty man, saw the shadows of Japanese hordes migrating from California to Texas. When, in the early part of 1921, two Japanese families (two men, two women, and four children) came to Harlingen with the intention of settling in its neighborhood, some of the townsfolk, especially American Legion men, started

a hullabaloo, and obliged the Japanese to go back to California. Suspicion prevailed in certain quarters that some landowners at Los Angeles, reluctant to see Japanese truck gardeners leave their lands, secretly instigated the Texans to forestall the coming of the Japanese. There is, however, no evidence to substantiate this suspicion.

Scared by the Japanese bogey thus created, the Lone Star State adopted a bill putting an end to the privilege of owning land which had long been enjoyed by aliens.

Coming back to California, the Japanese Exclusion League, disappointed with the small majority which passed the Alien Land Law, announced in January that it would carry on anti-Japanese propaganda with redoubled energy. With that end in view, it started a campaign for raising a propaganda fund of \$200,000, but the public proved so apathetic towards it that the agitators have succeeded in collecting only a few thousand dollars. This again shows how little the average Californian is excited over the "Japanese menace" that exists only in the imagination of the agitators. In Alameda County H. E. Goodnow, the campaign manager for that district, has filed a suit against the League and its directors, including Senator Inman, State Controller Chambers, and ex-Senator Boynton, because the League has failed to pay his salary of \$125 a week.

Meanwhile the California legislature met at Sacramento and witnessed, as usual, a plethora of anti-Japanese bills. Principal of these were:

1. Bill to abolish Japanese language schools.
2. Bill to authorize school districts to segregate Japanese children where such a measure is necessary.
3. Bill to prohibit Japanese to fish for commercial purposes.
4. Bill requiring landowners to file in the office of the county recorder a statement concerning lands they allow ineligible aliens to cultivate under any agreement.
5. Bill to appropriate \$50,000 to be expended by the State Board of Control for anti-Japanese propaganda throughout the United States.
6. Bill to "smoke out" all American land-owning corporations having Japanese shareholders.

Of the above six bills only the second was adopted. All others were either rejected or buried in the committee. The bill to abolish Japanese language schools was replaced by a bill providing for the state supervision of such schools. The bill, authorizing local school authorities to provide separate schools for Japanese children where such a course is deemed necessary, was passed but will prove ineffective, innocuous, and impracticable. As a matter of fact practically the same law has been in existence

since the seventies of the last century, when anti-Chinese agitation was "in flower," but the law has not been enforced because there has never been real cause for segregation with unnecessary expenditure. Moreover the school-teachers, who know the question better than the politicians, are against segregation. (See Chapter X, *The Japanese Children at School*.) The politicians who, to use their own parlance, "stick in an anti-Jap bill or two," do not care a whit whether they can be enforced or not. All that they want is to get their names in the newspapers.

Of the anti-Japanese bills introduced into the Sacramento legislature in the spring of 1921, the most important was the one prohibiting fishery by the Japanese. The same bill had been introduced in several previous sessions, but defeated by the opposition of American packing companies. In the 1921 session its proponents fought for its passage more vigorously than before, but it was finally defeated. (For statistics concerning Japanese fishermen, see Appendix C, Table 20.)

In concluding this chapter it seems pertinent to explain the rights of aliens in Japan with reference to landholding. The anti-Japanese propagandists have succeeded in creating among uninformed masses the false idea that Japan does not allow aliens to own or lease land.

In Japan foreigners as individuals are not

allowed to own land, but judicial persons enjoy this right even though they include no Japanese members or interests. Again, foreigners, even as individuals, can lease land of any description for fifty years on an equal footing with the natives, and can also hold superficies for unlimited periods. Superficies for one thousand years, for instance, is considered almost as satisfactory as ownership. In addition to these rights foreigners in Japan enjoy the right of lease-in-perpetuity which was established in the days when exterritoriality was exacted by foreign nations. Upon the lands thus leased the foreigner has erected residences and office buildings worth many millions of dollars, and yet they pay not a cent of tax upon such buildings. (For the decision of the Hague Tribunal on this matter see my "Japan and World Peace," Chapter III.)

As a conclusive evidence that the foreigners do actually own and lease land, let me present the following data:

1. Owned by 169 corporations organized exclusively by foreigners:

656 acres, of which about 164 acres are farm lands.

2. Owned by 69 foreigners (of whom 20 are Americans), in the name of Japanese:

195 acres, of which 18 acres are farm lands.

3. Perpetual lease by 336 foreigners (of whom 55 are Americans) :

430 acres.

4. Superficies by 335 foreigners (of whom 100 are Americans) :

547 acres, of which 52 acres are farm lands, the balance being city lots, forests, and pastures, etc.

True, these figures are small, but they are not too small considering the area of available lands in Japan. It is not due to any impediment, which the Japanese law may have to offer, that foreigners do not go to Japan and buy land for farming purpose. It is due to the fact that the country is so small in area and so densely populated that it offers no land which foreigners may buy and cultivate with advantage. No matter how liberal the Japanese law may be, no sane American will ever think of moving to Japan and buying a farm for a prohibitive price, when he can, right at home, buy any amount of more productive land for a price that seems a pittance in comparison to what one has to pay for land in Japan. But why reason? The reasoning faculties of anti-Japanese propagandists are out of commission, and their minds are steeled against logic, reason, or facts.

As for the anti-Japanese land laws recently adopted by various Western states, but especially by California and Washington, their fate is yet

to be determined. Strong argument can be, and as a matter of fact has been, advanced by experts for their nullification upon the ground of unconstitutionality. In Washington a suit has already been filed against the land law. In California similar steps will undoubtedly be taken either by public-spirited Americans or by Japanese in self-defense.

CHAPTER VII

THE ANTI-ORIENTAL TRADITION IN AMERICA

"The Japanese go to the West in order to acquire all the West can give. The Chinaman goes steeled against its influences. The spirit of the Japanese renders him quickly susceptible to every change in his surroundings. He is ever noting details and adapting himself to his circumstances. The spirit of the Chinaman, on the contrary, renders him quite oblivious to his environment. His mind is closed. Under special circumstances, when a Chinaman has been liberated from the prepossession of his social inheritance, he has shown himself as capable of Occidentalization in clothing, speech, manner, and thought as a Japanese. Such cases, however, are rare."—SIDNEY L. GULICK.

What Sidney Gulick says in the above quotation may not be true of the Chinese of to-day. The book, from which the quotation was taken, was written in 1903. But the characterization contained therein was certainly true of the Chinese laborers who were imported like cargoes to these shores during the last century.

It is unquestionable that the Pacific Coast has inherited the anti-Oriental prejudice born of the importation of Chinese who were treated as beasts of burden, pure and simple. For this condition the Chinese themselves were largely responsible, for they were slavish, utterly callous

to Occidental environment, and content with the inhuman treatment meted out to them.

Wherever the responsibility may lie, the history of the treatment of the Chinese on the Pacific Coast deserves a careful study, for the Chinese of the coolie class have established in the minds of the Westerners the idea that all Orientals are like them upon whom even so keen-minded a man as Bret Harte bestowed this epithet, "For ways that are dark and for tricks that are vain, the heathen Chinese is peculiar."

The public has such short memories that it has almost forgotten the brutal and bloody pogrom that was perpetrated against the Chinese only a score of years ago. How amusing to hear some people say nowadays that the Chinese are more desirable than the Japanese! Such people prefer the Chinese, mainly because they are less independent, less self-respecting, less progressive than the Japanese.

As early as 1850 the Chinese began to be handled roughly in the mining districts in California. In 1856 the *Shasta Republican* reported: "Hundreds of Chinese have been slaughtered in cold blood during the last five years by desperadoes that infest our state. The murder of Chinamen was of almost daily occurrence, yet in all this time we have heard of but two or three instances where the guilty parties have been brought to justice."

In 1862 the Chinese Six Companies reported to the California Senate that 88 Chinese had been murdered, 11 of them by tax collectors, but the report received no attention. In 1867, 30 Chinese employed in grading in San Francisco were violently attacked by a mob, and were seriously injured. In those days it was a common sight in San Francisco and other cities to see Chinese pelted with stones or mud, beaten or kicked, having vegetables or laundry stolen from their baskets, even having their queues cut. On one occasion 150 Chinese, landing from the Sacramento boat in San Francisco, were ruthlessly beaten and robbed. Appeals to the police proved so utterly futile that in 1869 the Chinese in San Francisco organized a protective society and employed a staff of special police to patrol the city day and night. This deplorable condition was described by the historian, John S. Hittell, in these words:

“Riots to bait and murder Chinamen, to destroy their houses, and to drive them away from the places where they are employed have been frequent in the State. Many public meetings have been held to fan the feeling of hatred against them into flames. . . . Arson has often been used against them and their employers. . . . Half a dozen white men were assassinated because they employed Chinese.”

In the face of such a regrettable state of affairs, the apathetic minority of decent, intelligent, "Christian" people sat still and permitted the lawless elements to scourge the Chinese until at last the storm of violence broke over the whole city of San Francisco in the great riots of July, 1877. In the first riot alone 25 wash houses were set on fire. This was followed by an orgy of outrages. For months no Chinese was safe from physical assaults. An epidemic of arson and robbery swept the city and the surrounding country. In many towns Chinese laundries were subjected to incendiarism. If the Chinese attempted to escape from burning houses, they were invariably beaten and kicked, often robbed and shot, and sometimes compelled to die in flames. The Chinese could no longer safely attend the mission schools in the cities, and many were obliged to seek refuge in the mountains and in the remote country districts. The crowning outrage was perpetrated in Truckee in November, 1878, when the entire Chinese population of 1,000 persons was ruthlessly driven out of the town. In Washington and Oregon the Chinese met much the same fate.

Even after the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Law in 1880, these traditional forms of physical persecution were not infrequently practiced upon the unhappy race. For years after the adoption of that law, Chinese in San Fran-

cisco were stoned in the streets. Many were arrested for gambling and prostitution while "American" or "white" establishments near by conducted prosperous "business" under police protection. In the country districts not a few Chinese had their queues and even their ears cut off, their cabins burned, and their belongings stolen or destroyed.

So much for what California *did* to the Chinese. Now let us hear what California *said* about them.

In 1876 the California Senate addressed to Congress a memorial urging Chinese exclusion. In one passage this document characterized the Chinese in these extravagant words:

"Impregnable to all the influences of Anglo-Saxon life, they remain the same stolid Asiatics that have floated on the rivers and slaved in the fields of China for thirty centuries of time. . . . We thus find one-sixth of our entire population composed of Chinese coolies, not involuntary, but, by the unalterable structure of their intellectual being, voluntary slaves."

In 1877 the State Senate printed and distributed 10,000 copies of the report which a Senate Committee had prepared on the Chinese question. In this report it was stated:

"Not less than 180,000,000 of dollars in gold have been abstracted from the state of California

alone by Chinese laborers, while they contributed nothing to the state or national wealth. From a purely financial point of view, it is beyond question that the United States is loser nearly four hundred millions of dollars by Chinese immigration.

“During their entire settlement in California they have never adapted themselves to our habits, mode of dress, or our educational system, have never learned the sanctity of an oath, never desired to become citizens, or to perform the duties of citizenship, never discovered the difference between right and wrong, never ceased the worship of their idol gods, or advanced a step beyond the traditions of their native hive.”

The same report went even so far as to assert that “it is safe to say that where one Chinese soul has been saved, a hundred white souls have been lost by the contamination of their presence.”

In 1876 a congressional committee consisting of Senator Sargent and Representative Pipe, of California, and Representative Cooper, of Tennessee, came to California to “investigate” the Chinese question. The committee nominally included Senator Morton, of Indiana, Representative Meade, of New York, and Representative Wilson, of Massachusetts, but these gentlemen took no active part in the investigation. So the two Californians, assisted by the

Tennessean imbued with the race prejudice of the South, had a free hand.

It was the preconceived plan of this committee to bring out testimonies most unfavorable to the Chinese. If any witness tried to testify favorably for them, the committee would intimidate him and virtually tell him to "shut up."

At one of the hearings held by the Committee, Frank M. Pixley, editor of the *Argonaut*, appeared as the representative of the San Francisco municipality, and heaped upon the Chinese the vilest epithets of which the following are an example:

"The Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made. . . . I think there are none so low. . . . Their people have got the perfection of crimes of 4,000 years. . . . I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have they are not worth the saving."

It was a foregone conclusion that the report of the committee was extremely unfair to the Chinese. It stated that 35,000 Chinese in San Francisco lived in filthy dwellings disregarding fire and health ordinances; that the Chinese had not enough brain capacity to qualify them for self-government; that, if they were allowed to become citizens, they would sell their ballots without hesitation; that they bartered their women,

and were cruel to the sick and to children; and that they made their way in California, not by superior force of industry, but by dint of revolting characteristics.

In one of his anti-Chinese vituperations, which made Senator Sargent, of California, famous (or infamous) in the Senate, we were told that the Chinese were pagan idolators addicted to nameless vices. In 1878 Representative Willis, in a virulent report on the Chinese, asserted that the Chinese had no self-respect and independence, and were homeless single men with a lower standard of living, practicing the sale of wives, infanticide, concubinage, perjury and torture, and indulging in "groveling thoughts, low passions, parsimonious and degrading habits."

In 1887 a committee of the California legislature visited Chinatown in San Francisco and wrote a report in which such vicious statements as this were contained:

"For thirty years China has dumped upon our shores all its refuse. . . . All the incapable, the idiotic, the unfortunate, the criminal, the diseased, the vicious, the outcasts have remained with us. . . . The men are the most degraded slaves upon earth. . . . The women are slave prostitutes, and the children the product of the most promiscuous miscegenation on earth."

Even as late at 1905 Senator George C. Perkins, of California, speaking in the Senate, had this to say:

“Bringing with them slavery, concubinage, prostitution, the opium vice, the disease of leprosy, the offensive and defensive organization of clans and guilds, the lowest standard of living known, and a detestation of the people with whom they live and with whom they will not even leave their bones when dead, they form a community within a community and there live the Chinese life.”

We may go on infinitely citing such statements as these, but it is neither pleasant nor ennobling to read such vile epithets and violent tirades. We have quoted enough to show how inhuman, how brutal, how wicked was the treatment and criticism with which the Californians greeted the Chinese. For further study of the Chinese in California, the reader is referred to Mrs. Mary Roberts Coolidge's book, “Chinese Immigration.”

When we compare California's attitude towards the Chinese up to twenty years ago with that towards the Japanese to-day, the difference is as night from day. Is this difference merely due to the progress which the Californians have achieved on the path of culture, or is it also due to the higher estimate which they entertain about

the Japanese? Does not the absence of real antagonism towards the Japanese justify the theory that the present anti-Japanese agitation is founded not upon the real need of the state, but upon the imaginations and designs of certain classes of people?

The treatment of the Chinese between the sixties and eighties of the last century was nothing short of a pogrom of the worst form. Compared with that pogrom, the present treatment of the Japanese is but a mild form of abuse. No Japanese has suffered physical attack at the hands of "hoodlums." No property owned by Japanese has been destroyed by "riffraff" elements. Only once or twice yellow journals reported alleged cases of rough treatment meted out to Japanese, but upon investigation such reports proved groundless and were found to be nothing but the usual trick of newspapers to incite animosity towards the Japanese. Thanks to the intelligence of the people of California, the yellow press has failed, and failed ignominiously, in its vile tricks. Everywhere the Japanese are getting along amicably with the Americans. Senator Phelan is right in objecting to the use of the word "pogrom," used by an ardent defender of the Japanese, for there never has been even a hint of pogrom in the attitude of the Californians towards the Japanese.

The failure of anti-Japanese propagandists to

incite race hatred against the Japanese proves two things. First, the Japanese have the innate capacity to live harmoniously side by side with Americans. Second, with the growth of Japanese immigration effectively checked by federal arrangements, the present Japanese population and Japanese landholdings constitute no real menace. To make them appear a menace by a campaign of exaggeration and falsehood is an affront to the intelligence of the American people.

This complacent attitude on the part of Californians has been proven by the result of the recent election. Senator Phelan, the apostle of anti-Japanism, has given way to his Republican opponent by a difference of 70,000 votes. The majority for the Alien Land Initiative Law has been disappointingly small for the anti-Japanese leaders. Chagrined by their failure to win overwhelming majority, the agitators are making all sorts of grimaces and uttering oaths and threats. Will they eventually succeed in creating hatred and hostility against the Japanese where no real cause exists for such feeling?

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRESS AND THE JAPANESE QUESTION

"It is hard for democracy to learn the responsibilities of its power; but the people now, not governments, make friendship or dislike, sympathy or discord, peace or war, between nations. In this modern day, through the columns of the myriad press and messages flashing over countless wires, multitude calls to multitude across boundaries and oceans in courtesy or insult, in amity or in defiance. Foreign officers and ambassadors and ministers no longer keep or break the peace, but the conduct of each people toward every other. The people who permit themselves to treat the people unkindly are surely sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, for a world of sullen and revengeful hatred can never be a world of peace. Against such a feeling treaties are waste paper and diplomacy the empty routine of idle form."—ELIHU ROOT.

The National Democratic Convention of 1920 was drawing to an end in the huge municipal auditorium at San Francisco. Some one moved that the city be thanked for the courtesy and hospitality it extended to the convention. "Aye" roared the delegates, and the motion was carried with no dissenting voice. Another man stood up and moved that the expression of thanks be extended to the newspapers of the city. "No! no!" came from hundreds of mouths, and ironical

smiles broadened as many faces. Only through the tact and diplomacy of the chairman was the face of the press saved.

This incident shows how Americans themselves feel about the newspapers of San Francisco, and perhaps of California. In this limited space, I cannot fully discuss the peculiarities of the California press. I will cite only a few examples of their usual methods with special reference to the Japanese question.

Perhaps the least harmless of the common tricks of California papers is either to ignore completely news or statements favorable to the Japanese or to bury them in an obscure corner or in the body of a long article, playing up unfavorable news in blazing headlines, often broad bands of huge type streaming across the front pages.

But they are not satisfied with such mild forms of prevarication. Often they publish news which their editors, if they have thinking minds, must know is false. A few illustrations will suffice.

A Los Angeles paper for January 31, 1920, reported under screaming headlines that "*during the twelve months ending June 30, 1919, the agents of the Federal Government apprehended 9,678 Japanese who were in California illegally and secured their deportation.*" This astounding statement was purported to have been made by John W. Abercombie, Assistant Secretary of

Labor. Of course Mr. Abercombie never said this, and the editor knew he didn't. What he did say was this, *that in the eleven years ending June 30, 1919, 4,000 aliens OF ALL CLASSES had been found illegally in this country and deported.* Some difference, isn't it!

On December 5, 1920, the Japanese young men of Central California, meeting in conference at Fresno, passed the following resolution: "We, the Japanese young men of Central California, in consideration of the situation confronting us to-day, declare that we shall do our utmost for the Americanization of our people in America."

A few days later the Japanese Exclusion League gave out an entirely different version of the same resolution as follows: "We are firmly resolved that Central California, as the impregnable fortress of Japanese development in America, shall be defended to the deathblow at whatever sacrifice."

To this distorted version the newspapers and news agencies gave unstinted publicity. The Japanese Associations tried to correct the error, but in vain. To the newspapers the false news was good news, but any statement attempting to set it right was no news at all.

Somewhere in the Sacramento Valley lived a gentleman who wanted to be a state legislator. He talked a lot about the Japanese menace, and

repeatedly stated that the Japanese had leased 10,000,000 acres of land in the upper end of the Sutter Basin. That was great news and the man got all the publicity he wanted. But remember that the Sutter Basin has only 60,000 acres in all. How any one can lease 10,000,000 acres just in the upper end of it, when the entire basin comprises only 60,000 acres, is beyond the comprehension of a sane man. Yet this wild statement was published in newspapers all over California, and perhaps in other States. If any intelligent man tried to get the correct statement in the press, it was of no avail because it was not *news*.

At the end of February, 1920, Japan stopped issuing passports to the so-called "picture brides." But as Japanese passports are good for six months, some picture brides continued to arrive. This fact was made known to the newspapers, but the papers persisted to impute bad faith to the Japanese Government. Consequently on March 25, 1920, the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco issued a statement saying:

"The Japanese Foreign Office stopped the issuance of passports to picture brides on February 25. According to the regulations of the Japanese Government a passport is valid for six months after its issuance. It is, therefore, obvious that in the few months following February 25 picture brides will continue to come,

though undoubtedly in decreasing numbers. The discontinuance of the issuance of passports to picture brides on February 25 does not mean that the coming of picture brides to America will absolutely stop from that date. By the latter part of August, however, we are sure that picture brides will cease to come."

To our great surprise a San Francisco paper published on the following day an entirely different version of the above statement. It said:

"Hundreds of picture brides are waiting in various Japanese ports for transportation to the United States according to an announcement made yesterday by officials of the Japanese Association. Hundreds of women, according to the secretary, rushed to the passport offices during February and secured their passports to America."

On July 28, 1920, the San Francisco papers, under screaming headlines, published what pretended to be an interview with the captain of an American schooner. They represented the captain as saying that the Japanese authorities at the island of Ponape were discourteous and inhuman towards his crew, and did not permit the sick American sailors to be taken ashore for treatment, and refused to supply the ship with necessary provisions and medicine.

When this was published, the owner of the ship, a San Francisco man, was amazed at the

audacious mendacity of the papers, and addressed to their editors the following statement:

“The Japanese authorities extended to our vessel every courtesy and assistance at Ponape. A doctor from the Japanese warship, together with the Government Health Officer, extended to the sick members of the crew every attention, and medical supplies were generously given to the ship free of cost. The launch from the Japanese warship in Ponape harbor assisted the vessel when it appeared likely she would strand on one of the reefs at the entrance of the harbor.

“The statement has been published that the Japanese refused to permit burial of the deceased mate, but we would like to point out that the mate died thirteen days before the arrival of the schooner at Ponape, and was buried at sea.”

Did the papers publish it? Not to this day. It was promptly consigned to the waste baskets in the editorial sanctums.

On March 17, 1920, a San Francisco evening paper carried a sensational story under the huge headline, “Oil Cans Tapped by Cargo Hooks, Flood Ship’s Hold at Sea.” It charged that Japanese stevedores at Kobe deliberately punctured the oil cans loaded there by an American freighter. The purchaser of the oil, a San Francisco firm, and the officers of the ship branded the story as a malicious canard, while Lloyds declared that their agents in Kobe watched the

loading and certified to the proper condition of the cargo. Incidentally it was known that Japanese stevedores used no loading hooks. But not a line of these facts was published in that evening paper. In the ethics of such papers, a lie, once uttered, assumes a certain sanctity and cannot be retracted.

Shortly before the November election last year almost all California newspapers published the most ridiculous yet most malicious story of a Los Angeles "society woman" having been made the victim of a Japanese "murder plot." "There was placed in her food," so the story went, "a dozen small pieces of sharp bamboo splinters, each enclosed within a binding gut." And the good lady swallowed these bamboo pieces put in her food by her Japanese cook. Of course she never masticated her food! The good woman is to-day as healthy as ever. The whole thing was so baseless and utterly foolish. Both the reporters who wrote the story and the editors who printed it knew it was a foolish lie, for I take them to be normal human beings. Yet they did not hesitate to publish such stories under big headlines on the front pages. And Mr. Phelan, then candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, went the newspapers one better, freely exploiting the above story in his campaign speeches! Verily, this revolving planet of ours is full of picturesque folks.

Enough has been written to show the idiosyncrasies of the California press. But may I add just one more story, a happy story in which I was made a hero.

On July 19, 1920, I appeared before the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization which was holding hearings in San Francisco. The committee asked me miscellaneous questions, some sensible, some absurd, some congressman-like. One was whether I knew a Japanese girl who was employed in the censor's office of the San Francisco Post Office. I replied, "Yes." Then they asked me whether she told me about her work, and whether I got any information from her. I said, "No."

To my great delight I saw my name adorning the front pages of the newspapers that evening and the "morning after." One paper had this headline in letters, each as big as a fist: "KAWAKAMI SAYS WOMAN CENSOR GAVE INFORMATION." Other papers had much the same headlines, and the story was copied by almost every paper in California.

At last my lifelong ambition to have my name in big headlines on the front pages of newspapers was gratified. But Representative Albert Johnson, Chairman of the Immigration Committee, thought I was getting unmerited distinction and wrote a letter scolding me for accepting it and admonishing the press for being over-generous.

It would be easy to write a book, and a big one, of such stories that we see daily in California newspapers. But the topic is not a pleasant one. I will be satisfied if what I have said in the foregoing few passages will serve as a warning to a busy public which is constantly fed with false or distorted news about the Japanese. To show that sensible, intelligent Californians agree with me on this question, I conclude this chapter with the following quotation from a recent article by Professor Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University:

“The attitude of the average Californian toward the Japanese is not due primarily to personal knowledge of the situation; for only relatively few of our people have any intimate contact with the seventy or eighty thousand Japanese in the state. It is due to the fact that, for certain local, traditional and political reasons, the people of California are periodically presented with a mass of partisan, often misleading, and frequently absolutely false statements about the Japanese. I am ready to confess that, if my opinions on the subject were formed from the newspapers, I should feel it my duty to take some part in arousing our people as a whole against the Japanese ‘menace.’ And that is why so many Californians are absolutely sincere in their beliefs. But, happily, I am in a position where I can gather my own information, check up the alarming statements as they come out, and form my own opinions.”

CHAPTER IX

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

"The race or people who can best synthesize the thoughts and experiences of other races is the one to have a rich life. And it seems to me that Japan bids fair to excel here. She combines, as no other nation does to-day, the two great and hitherto divergent streams of Occidental and Oriental civilizations and languages. She has the power of holding, appreciating, and enjoying a larger variety of different modes of life, of wearing apparel, of language, of ideals, of travels, and of amusement than any other nation with which I am acquainted. She is so situated in the midst of the convergent streams of Eastern and Western civilizations, with her immense variety of languages, customs, ideas, and religion, that she bids fair in time to develop a life of marvelous wealth. Her dream not only of receiving all that is good from other nations, but in due time of giving something of worth to the world, will doubtless be realized."—SIDNEY L. GULICK.

It is commonly admitted that the Japanese have an insatiable thirst for education. If one glances over newspapers published in Japan, one cannot fail to observe that the most liberal advertisers are publishers of books and magazines. In every issue of the Japanese dailies, the first page is mostly devoted to the advertisements of books and magazines, a practice unknown to the American press.

This desire for knowledge and education the Japanese carry with them wherever they go. In an article in the *San Francisco Call* (May 15, 1920), Inspector Antone Scar of the California Housing and Immigration Commission is credited with this statement:

“They (Japanese farmers) may have many white people with children working for them, but their own children do not work in the fields. They are sent to school religiously, no matter how far away the schools may be, and they generally are given Japanese schooling in addition to that provided by the state.”

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, a noted writer and publicist, discussing the Japanese in Hawaii, makes the same observation. “The Japanese in Hawaii,” he says, “have a passion for education and send their young people to school until they are thoroughly prepared,” while Portuguese plantation laborers take their children out of the schools early and send them into the fields.

Another author, describing the Japanese in American cities, says that on the street corners, which European immigrants would adorn with saloons, the Japanese established bookstores.

Mr. Henry W. Kinney, for years Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Territory of Hawaii, confirms the above statements when he says in the *Atlantic Monthly* (December, 1920):

“Intense desire for knowledge, which is an outstanding trait, assists them greatly; a child of six pursues his studies with the intensity of an American youth working his way through college; and the constant struggle of the public schools is, not to compel the Japanese to attend, but to keep out youngsters below school-age who resort to all manner of subterfuge in order to gain entrance. This characteristic largely overcomes the handicap of language which confronts the Japanese pupils, especially during their early years of school; and when they reach the upper grades, they often excel to such a degree that principals occasionally find themselves faced by the perplexing situation of having the valedictorians all Japanese—perplexing because it is obviously desirable to have such honors distributed more or less evenly among the different races.”

It is partly due to this passion for education that the Japanese in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast maintain Japanese schools in which the Japanese language is taught after the regular lessons in the public schools.

The Japanese schools, it must be remembered, are not substitutes for, but supplements to, public schools. The Japanese children go to Japanese schools after their regular hours in the public schools. Except in kindergartens the session lasts only half an hour to an hour and the

curriculum consists of calligraphy, reading, and composition in Japanese.

The Education Association, organized by the Japanese teachers in the language schools in Northern California, describes the work of these institutions as follows:

1. For the kindergartens both Japanese and American teachers shall be employed in order effectively to prepare the children to enter the public schools.

2. For children who come to the language school after the session in the public school the teaching of the Japanese language shall last from half an hour to one hour. This is to facilitate the understanding between the parents and children so that they shall enjoy home life.

3. The Language Institutes shall provide the playground for the children to encourage their healthy activities and avoid the danger of street play and its bad influences.

Miss Emily Greene Balch, writing in Professor Albert B. Wolfe's "Readings in Social Problems," not only defends the teaching of foreign languages, but thinks it disastrous for children of foreign parentage not to be able to speak the language of their fathers and mothers. She says:

"What should be the American's attitude toward this question? I personally have no doubt that the right thing to do is to wish the parents

godspeed in their endeavor to have their children learn their language. One of the great evils among the children of foreigners, as every one who knows them realizes, is the disastrous gulf between the older and the younger generations. Discipline, in this new freedom which both parents and children misunderstand, is almost impossible; besides which, the children, who have to act as interpreters for their parents and do business for them, are thrown into a position of unnatural importance, and feel only contempt for old-world ways, a feeling enhanced by the too common American attitude. One hears stories of Italian children refusing to reply to their mother if spoken to in Italian.

"In addition to these considerations, and to the sufficiently obvious fact that to possess two languages instead of one is in itself an intellectual advantage, it is to be remembered that the leaders and teachers of the newcomers must be men who can speak both languages, and that it would be a national misfortune if these were solely men of foreign birth, including none of the second, or later, generations in this country. A final and less important consideration is that to know any immigrant language is money in a man's pocket."

One wonders if Miss Balch is right in saying that economic consideration is the least important in the teaching of foreign languages. In the case of the Japanese youths, it seems to be as important as other reasons. In seeking em-

ployment either in Japanese or American business firms, an American-born Japanese can command a higher salary if he knows both the Japanese and the English language. This is especially the case on the Pacific Coast.

There is another reason for justifying the Japanese schools. The Occidental textbooks are too sparing in dealing with the history and geography of the Orient. Worse still, they often do Oriental nations gross injustice by disseminating mistaken ideas. What one learns in his childhood in the nursery, in the kindergarten, and in the primary school, influences and fashions his thought throughout his life. American or European writers of textbooks are not entirely free from the notion that the whole Orient is peopled by inferior or backward races. To add to the prejudice thus created, American missionaries and mission boards, with perfectly good intentions, often present to the public misleading pictures of Japan. Such pictures of ignorance and depravity as are sometimes depicted of Japan by them are no more representative of that country than the pictures of "bootlegging," of street walking, or of municipal corruption, are typical of America.

To offset these unfortunate influences, it is advisable that the Japanese children should be given correct knowledge of Japan and the Japa-

nese. They should know that Japan has had an intensely cultivated civilization of her own, that her people are possessed of moral fiber as strong as that of any other people, that her history is replete with stories of noble deeds and achievements. Such knowledge makes them confident of the potentialities of their race, and teaches them to respect not only themselves, but their parents and all men of their kin. What is equally important, it affords them a broader view of the world and divests them of narrow prejudice. No man is worth while who does not respect himself and the race of which he is a member. Neither is he a desirable member of the democracy who cherishes prejudice against other races. To prevent the injection of such undesirable elements into the American population should be one of the chief missions of the Japanese schools in America.

Mr. G. P. Stafford, superintendent of schools of the city of Fresno, California, gives the right estimate of the Japanese language schools when he says, in a statement in the *Fresno Republican* (March 28, 1920), as follows:

“While I do not know what they teach in their own language, I have every reason to believe that the two schools operated by the Japanese in Fresno are valuable aids to the public schools, and that hand in hand with the religious and

language subjects taught, Americanism and Americanization are emphasized in those schools.

"I cannot speak too highly of the Japanese Congregational school where much good work is being done among children and adults. I am certain that these schools are not teaching ideals and ideas dangerous to America and our customs.

"The Japanese are a people who are eager for all the knowledge and education they can get, and my office has never had any trouble in getting them into or keeping them in school."

The anti-Japanese propagandists resort to the usual trick of misrepresentation when they call these language schools "Buddhist schools." As a matter of fact, these schools are much less Buddhist than Senator Phelan or Mr. McClatchy is Christian, and the propagandists know it. That they know it makes no difference, for their function is to twist facts and fan prejudice. The average American has an innate prejudice against Buddhism, and the anti-Japanese agitators scheme to discredit all Japanese language schools by dubbing them "Buddhist schools."

California has 54 Japanese language schools with an aggregate attendance of 1,998 pupils. Therefore, the average attendance per school is about 37 children.

Of the 54 schools not more than 10 are Buddhist schools; that is, schools maintained by

Buddhist churches. All others are either entirely non-sectarian or maintained by Christian churches and conducted in accordance with Christian principles.

As an example of deliberate misrepresentation by anti-Japanese propagandists, politicians, and newspapers, let me point out a recent item in the San Francisco *Examiner* (March 21, 1921), one of Mr. Hearst's "enterprising" papers. "Assemblyman J. H. Parker of Placer County," it says, "has obtained a list of the Buddhist schools in northern and central California. This list is official and checked by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction." Then it proceeds to give the list of "Buddhist" schools in San Francisco, a false list, as follows:

FALSE LIST

1. Buddhist School, 1881 Pine Street.
2. Buddhist School, 883 Sacramento Street.
3. Buddhist School, 1763 Sutter Street.
4. Buddhist School, 2031 Bush Street.
5. Buddhist School, 1715 Octavia Street.
6. Buddhist School, 444 Bush Street.
7. Buddhist School, 1104 Post Street.
8. Buddhist School, 1760 Post Street.

The above is but an example of the habitual prevarication and chronic mendacity practiced by the "Holy Alliance" formed by the anti-Japanese politicians and the press. Compare the above *false list* with the following *real list*, and you will see how despicable their methods are:

REAL LIST

1881 Pine Street	Buddhist School
883 Sacramento Street	Non-Sectarian, Independent
1763 Sutter Street	Non-Sectarian, Independent
2031 Bush Street	Non-Sectarian, Independent
1715 Octavia Street	Catholic Kindergarten
444 Bush Street	No school at this address
1104 Post Street	No school at this address
1760 Post Street	Christian (Reformed Church) Kindergarten

Senator Phelan, a gentleman of culture and refinement as he seems to be, betrays his utter ignorance in regard to certain matters which he essays valorously to discuss. For one thing, he is entirely oblivious of wide difference between Buddhism and Shintoism. At a hearing held in San Francisco in July, 1920, by the Congressional Committee on Immigration, Mr. Phelan naïvely stated that the Buddhist churches and schools in California encouraged and advocated *Emperor worship*. Obviously he confounded Buddhism with Shintoism which does encourage Emperor worship.

The headquarters of the Buddhist mission of North America are located in San Francisco. The mission has 19 churches in California, and 6 in other Western states. Its clergy consists of 27 priests and its members number 8,500. It

maintains 6 Japanese language schools (including kindergartens) and 12 English language schools.

Reverend Koyu Uchida, bishop and superintendent of the Buddhist mission of North America, in a statement submitted to the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, explains the purpose and work of the mission as follows:

“When the Buddhist Mission of North America was first started in 1899 at San Francisco, it had for its object the salvation of mankind through spiritual enlightenment, and the realization of Universal Brotherhood and Fraternal Love as taught by the Lord Buddha, the Enlightened One, 2,500 years ago.

“In 1899, the Hongwanji of Kyoto, Japan, sent two missionaries to San Francisco, in response to a request made by the Young Men’s Buddhist Association of that time. On their arrival, the missionaries founded a missionary station which, in a short time, organized itself into an independent religious corporation under the State laws.

“In the course of time, the missionary work reaped fruit, and during the past twenty years, twenty-five churches (not seventy-four, as stated by Senator Phelan) were organized in the Western States, all affiliated with the Headquarters at San Francisco.

"All these churches are conducted in conformity with the Creed and Constitution of the Buddhist Mission of North America as religious congregations, and are managed in accordance with the Constitution and Laws of the State in which they are located like all other organized bodies.

"We wish to strongly emphasize that our churches have nothing to do whatsoever with Shintoism, politics or any Imperialistic policy formulated by the Japanese Government. Our Mission is to elevate the spiritual life, not to dictate politics or policies of any Government. We should also like to point out that Buddhism is Democratic, an ideal long held by the citizens of the United States of America. All the clergy in charge of the churches are ordained by Hongwanji as priests, and authorized to preach our religion, and are duly appointed as missionaries in this country by the Missionary Superintendent who is the president of the Headquarters. The missionaries are required to have sufficient knowledge and information of America and American customs before being sent here, and are requested to perfect themselves as soon as possible after their arrival.

"For some time special emphasis has been laid on the necessity of the Americanization of our people, and all the clergy located at the different churches strive to educate the members in the American way of living and acting."

I have justified the existence of Japanese language schools, at least for some years to come, and have defended them against their willful defamation at the hands of anti-Japanese agitators. This, however, must not be construed as a belief that these schools need no reform or improvement. On the contrary, I think that they have many undesirable features which call for immediate removal. As an indication of what should be done in this matter, I describe what has been done in Hawaii.

In Hawaii the Japanese residents took the initiative in the reformation of Japanese language schools. Some two years ago they compiled new textbooks in Japanese especially adapted to conditions in Hawaii. Their object in that undertaking was to eliminate from the textbooks used in the Japanese language schools all material incompatible with the ideals and traditions of the American nation. More recently, when the Japanese school question became more widely discussed, the Japanese residents in Hawaii formulated a definite plan as to how the Japanese schools should be reformed. The essential features of that proposition were as follows:

1. No person shall conduct a foreign language school in Hawaii unless he shall have obtained a permit from the department of public instruction.

2. No person shall teach in a foreign language school until he shall have obtained a permit from the department.

3. No permit to teach in a foreign language school shall be granted unless the department is satisfied that the applicant is possessed of a reasonable knowledge of the ideals of democracy, and American history and institutions, and knows how to read, write and speak the English language. Provided, however, that the provisions concerning knowledge of the English language shall be liberally construed during the two years after this act goes into effect; it being understood that it would be difficult within that time to secure teachers fully qualified under this section and at the same time qualified to teach a foreign language.

4. Before issuing a permit to conduct a foreign language school or to teach a school, the department shall require the applicant for such permit to sign a pledge that he will, if granted a permit, observe the regulations and orders of the department and will, to the best of his ability, so direct the minds and studies of pupils in said school as will tend to make them good and loyal American citizens.

5. The department shall have full power from time to time to prescribe the course or courses of study and the textbooks to be used in any foreign language school.

These proposals were immediately indorsed by

the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, a very powerful organization in Hawaii, and were promptly adopted by the territorial legislature.

Fortunately the Japanese in California were not slow in following the example set by their brothers in Hawaii. In December, 1920, the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco suggested to administrative and legislative leaders of California that a law similar to that adopted in Hawaii should be enacted in the State. Whether this suggestion was seriously considered or not, it is an interesting fact that a foreign language school law almost identical to that of Hawaii has been adopted by the California legislature in the spring of 1921.

The amusing thing was that when the bill was introduced its proponent heralded it as a great anti-Japanese measure proposed in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of the Japanese! Such is the psychology of California politicians eager to get their names into the front pages of newspapers. At this writing the Governor has not signed the bill, and it is doubtful whether he ever will, because the Jews, who will be as much affected by it as the Japanese, have launched a strong protest against it. Remember that the Jews, unlike the Japanese, have voting power, and their protests must be heeded.

Mr. Lorrin A. Thurston, publisher of the Honolulu *Advertiser*, in a recent address before

the Honolulu Social Science Association, presents a very catholic view of the Japanese language school. "Am I in favor of language schools," he asks himself, and goes on to answer:

"Yes, to the extent that it would be an unjust and arbitrary exercise of brute force if they are abolished by law! Yes, to the extent that no one—much more no American citizen in the land of his birth—should be denied the right to acquire any branch of useful knowledge which he wishes to acquire, especially knowledge which constitutes the sole medium of communication with his own parents, subject only to such regulations and restrictions as are necessary for the public welfare. Yes, to the extent that the advantage of such knowledge should not be denied to any one who wishes to acquire it, provided it can be acquired without injury to the public interest. Yes, to the extent that it is manifest that the coming years will be ones of tension and adjustment of interests between the two countries, and it will be of the utmost value to peace and mutual understanding that there be a large number of persons educated and able to think and speak in both languages."

In the judgment of this publicist, the Japanese language schools are bound to lose their importance as the younger generation of the Japanese in Hawaii takes the place of the older folk who came from Japan. They will die a natural death

if no misguided educational authorities adopt repressive measures which will have the effect of nurturing love and even fervor for the language which such measures aim to suppress.

To any thinking mind, it must be obvious that it is much safer, wiser and less costly to allow the Japanese schools to die a natural death, as died German and French language schools which once flourished in various parts in this country. Even in Hawaii where Japanese constitute a large portion of the population, Mr. Thurston is confident that in no distant future the Japanese language schools, or most of them, will lose their reason for existence. "The present generation of children," he says, "do not attend the Japanese school because they want to. They have no patriotic fervor urging them thereto—and will have none, unless we furnish the animus by forbidding it, thereby making the study of Japanese a fetish which every child will hug to its bosom and cultivate as a matter of sentiment and sacred duty, to vindicate its right to freedom."

CHAPTER X

THE JAPANESE CHILDREN AT SCHOOL

"Compared with our other foreign children, or with other children born in America of foreign parentage not Japanese, keeping in mind the differences in social position that exist in all classes, whatever the nationality may be, I cannot see much difference along any line between our Japanese children and our Mexicans, our French and our Italians; nor do I think any of them differ radically from what we are apt to term 'American' children. . . . Our Japanese children are called brighter and more studious, sometimes, than the others. I think this is due to the fact that they have, in many cases, ambitious, educated parents who follow school work up very closely in the home. Where home restrictions are lifted, such conditions do not always prevail, any more than in cases of other neglected children. They must be studious. Discipline of American-born Japanese children is not so close in the home as it seems to be with children born in Japan and reared along Japanese lines, yet such children show much more initiative in all of their work at school. They catch the American spirit."—A LOS ANGELES SCHOOL SUPER-INTENDENT.

Not long ago I was going to Washington, D. C., from New York. On the train I fell in with an American naval officer. Our conversation rambled from one topic to another. Of course the officer did not fail to inject the Japanese question into it.

"Speaking about the Japanese in California,"

he said, "that potato king George Shima is a great boy, isn't he?"

"Yes," I assented, "he is a great farmer, a great business man, a man of great enterprise."

"That's so, too," said the naval officer rather reluctantly, "but I didn't mean that sort of greatness—I understand he has five wives."

At this I almost fell off my chair. Call George Shima a bigamist—Shima whose moral character is impeccable, whose devotion to his home is almost religious! Did it not betray the pruriency of the officer? Did he infer from the conduct of some American millionaires that no man of Shima's prosperity could be happy with just one wife?

Upon my arrival in Washington, I met a man who was in a position to know something about Japanese immigration.

"Is it true," he asked me "that there are 20,000,000 Japanese in America?"

Twenty million Japanese in the United States! Think of that. I wanted to say in reply that there were only 100,000 Japanese in continental America, but his question was so big that I could not gather courage to answer it.

When returning to California from Washington, a man, an Easterner, on the train asked me whether he could find in San Francisco a good hotel conducted by Americans.

"I am told," he said, "that almost all hotels in San Francisco are operated by Japanese."

"Where did you get that?" I asked. "There is no Japanese hotel catering to American guests."

"Oh," he said, "I've been reading Wallace Irwin's anti-Japanese novel—a propaganda story, I suppose."

And so it goes. All over the country it is either dense ignorance or a grossly exaggerated idea that prevails among the large mass of the American people on the Japanese question. This ignorance and exaggeration has been, and is being, made greater by persistent, unscrupulous propaganda conducted by anti-Japanese agitators.

Of late the propagandists have been telling the gullible public that Japanese children outnumber and are crowding out American children in the public schools in California. This story is about as true as the story of George Shima told at the outset of this chapter.

As a matter of fact there is in all California just one village where Japanese school children slightly outnumber their American fellows, and that is the village of Florin not far from Sacramento. This condition in Florin is due to circumstances peculiar to that locality. There the soil is so poor that few American farmers would cultivate it. But some years ago a few Japa-

nese were coaxed to come and buy farms. The Japanese by dint of industry and ingenuity achieved the impossible, and converted hardpan into flourishing vineyards and berry gardens. Because of the hard labor and high cost required in reclaiming the soil, American farmers were not drawn to this district even after these Japanese had proved its worth. But the success of these Japanese pioneers attracted their fellow countrymen to this region from other parts of the state. The result has been an extraordinary increase of Japanese population in this village. Under these circumstances it is only natural that Japanese children should outnumber American in the village school.

With the single exception of Florin, no school in California has more Japanese pupils than American. Even where Japanese attendance is considerable, there is little or no complaint on the part of the teachers or the parents of American children. Spasmodic attempts made by California politicians for the segregation of Japanese pupils in the public schools are naught but an unscrupulous method of seeking newspaper notoriety, and are backed by no real demand or necessity. An obscure legislator, with no constructive measure to offer, can be fairly sure of publicity, if he "sticks in" an anti-Japanese bill. That is the only reason why the legislature at Sacramento sees a segregation bill

or two at every session. Such bills were introduced but defeated in 1913 and 1919.

In the legislative session of 1921 a bill was passed, authorizing school districts to establish separate schools for Japanese as well as other aliens where such a step is deemed advisable. The proponents of such bills know that their enactment is not required, and that the segregation of Japanese pupils, for financial and other reasons, would not be practicable even if such bills were adopted. But politicians of this class are not actuated by such considerations. Their first desire is to put their names before the public through the newspapers. As a matter of fact, a segregation law applicable to Oriental children has been in existence for more than forty years. If there is real need of segregation, the state can go ahead and provide separate schools without enacting any new law. But the proponents of segregation care nothing about the wisdom or necessity of such legislation; all they want is advertisement of their names.

In discussing the Japanese children at school, one can not help recalling the historic "school incident" in San Francisco in 1906. On April 18, 1906, a great calamity had befallen the city at the Golden Gate in an earthquake unprecedented in the annals of America. Japan had sent to the stricken city a relief fund of \$250,000, a sum larger than that contributed by any other

single country. San Francisco, then saddled with a labor union administration, met this gracious act on the part of the Japanese with the announcement that Japanese pupils be excluded from the public schools and segregated in a special school. That was on October 11, 1906.

President Roosevelt sent Mr. Victor Metcalf, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, to San Francisco, charging him to make thorough investigation of the trouble. On December 6, 1906, the President, in a vigorous message, recommended the naturalization of Japanese. Upon receipt of Mr. Metcalf's report, the President addressed to Congress a special message dated December 18, 1906. It said:

"I call your especial attention to the small number of Japanese children who attend schools, to the testimony as to the brightness, cleanliness and good behavior of these Japanese children in the schools, and to the fact that, owing to their being scattered through the city, the requirement for them to go to one special school is impossible of fulfillment and means that they cannot have school facilities.

"Let me point out further that there would be no objection whatever to excluding from the schools any Japanese on the score of age. It is obviously not desirable that young men should go to school with children. The only point is the exclusion of the children themselves. The number of Japanese children attending the public

schools in San Francisco was small. The government has already directed that suit be brought to test the constitutionality of the act in question, but my earnest hope is that such suit will not be necessary, and that as a matter of comity the citizens of San Francisco will refuse to deprive these young Japanese children of education and will permit them to go to the schools."

As the President pointed out, the Japanese never objected to the exclusion of young men; but they could not bear to see all Japanese pupils, irrespective of age, driven out of the public schools, simply because they were Japanese. Of the ninety-three Japanese pupils attending public schools when segregation was ordered, none was over twenty years of age, and only two were as old. Six were aged nineteen; six were eighteen years old; twelve seventeen; nine sixteen; and ten fifteen. The remaining forty-eight were between six and fourteen years old. As for the charge that Japanese pupils were morally inferior, and exercised baneful influence upon white children, it was a calumny pure and simple, and could only reflect upon the character of those who uttered it.

When the exclusion agitation was at its height Colonel Irish, naval officer at San Francisco, at a banquet of the Unitarian Club, read the following letter, written to him by an experienced public-school principal of San Francisco:

“Japanese children do not crowd white children out of the schools. The San Francisco schools are not overcrowded. They never have been overcrowded during the past twenty years, except in a few spots, and that for causes entirely outside this matter.

“The statement that the influence of the Japanese, in our schools, has had a tendency towards immorality is false and absolutely without foundation. From all I have heard in conference with other school men, as well as from my own continuous and careful observation, there has never been the slightest cause for a shadow of suspicion affecting the conduct of one of these Japanese pupils. On the contrary, I have found that they have furnished examples of industry, patience, unobtrusiveness, obedience, and honesty in their work, which have greatly helped many efficient teachers to create the proper moral atmosphere for their class rooms.

“Japanese and American children have always been on good terms in my class rooms, and in others concerning which I am informed. They work side by side, without interference or friction, and often some Japanese student would be a great favorite among his American classmates.

“In all my years of experience, there has never come, orally or in writing, from the parents whose children have attended my school, one hint of complaint or dissatisfaction concerning the instruction of their children in the same school or the same rooms with Japanese. Nor has there

ever been any complaint or protest from teachers in regard to this co-education."

Views of the San Francisco school-teachers, almost without exception, bear testimony to the accuracy of this statement. There may have been solitary cases of undesirable conduct on the part of Japanese pupils, but there can be no doubt that on the whole they are more docile, intelligent, industrious, orderly, and clean in habit than the average children of most immigrants from other countries.

The San Francisco school trouble ended in a compromise as the result of Mr. Roosevelt's conference at Washington with Eugene Schmitz, who was then mayor of San Francisco, and who was later sentenced to five years imprisonment, although this sentence was reversed by the State Supreme Court for purely technical reasons. That compromise was in the following form:

"First. Children of alien races who speak the English language, in order to determine the proper grade in which they may be enrolled, must first be examined as to their educational qualifications.

"Second. That no child of alien birth over the ages of ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, or sixteen years shall be enrolled in any of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth grades, respectively.

"Third. If said alien children shall be found

deficient in their ability to speak, or deficient in the elements of the English language, or unable to attend the grades mentioned therein such children shall be enrolled in special schools or in special classes established exclusively for such children and in the manner the Board of Education shall deem proper and most expedient."

As to the morals of Japanese school children, Mr. Henry W. Kinney, for years Superintendent of Public Instruction in Hawaii, testifies as follows:

"The Japanese youth is singularly clean from pornographic and similar tendencies—undoubtedly more so than our own, as with them sexual matters are not enveloped in mystery, but are regarded like any other phase of natural life. The point is partly proved by the entire absence, on walls and similar places in Japan, of the crude indecencies by which our youths so often express a purulent state of mind. The average white child is in less danger of moral contamination in association with Japanese than is the Japanese child in association with whites; and the chief difference in adult life is that the Japanese does more or less openly that which with us is done under cover."

At the risk of imposing upon my readers, I conclude this chapter with a few more quotations. A teacher in Hewitt Street School, Los Angeles, says of the Japanese pupils, "When with them, I

feel that I am in the company of well-bred Americans." And the principal of the same school bears testimony to the above statement in the following words:

"The American-born Japanese children, who are enrolled in this school, compare most favorably with the American children both intellectually and morally. They are like all groups of children. We find some very bright children and some very dull ones. As a whole, they are more persevering and more dependable than the class of white children found in this school."

When the Congressional Committee on Immigration held hearing in Stockton, California, on July 16, 1920, Mrs. J. S. Woodruff, an Americanization teacher employed by the state, stated that she "had no trouble in the mixing of Japanese and Americans in the various social functions of eight public schools," that she "had found the Japanese to be honest, loyal, industrious and public-spirited, and that there could be full social and intellectual assimilation of the Japanese."

At the same hearing Mr. John Andersen, Superintendent of Schools for San Joaquin County, testified that "the Japanese children are bright, studious and easily disciplined," and that he knew "of no trouble on account of Japanese and Americans attending the same schools."

In Los Angeles "it was the universal testi-

mony," says Professor Burnight, of the University of Southern California, "that as far as morality was concerned the teachers had absolutely no trouble with the Japanese." Most of the teachers in that city are strongly opposed to the plan of separate schools for the Japanese, because they see no necessity for such a course. Moreover, the segregation of Japanese children will greatly retard their Americanization which the schools are so strongly emphasizing. As Professor Burnight rightly says, "race prejudice tends to disappear when the two peoples come to know each other better. Where is a better place to start the elimination of race prejudice than among the children? And this is the concensus of opinion among the public school teachers in Los Angeles."

CHAPTER XI

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

"Precisely because of their historical traits of allegiance and organization the Japanese are capable of transforming their lives and practices more rapidly than any other group. . . . They are inclined to make more far-going concession than any other group in order to overcome American prejudice and secure status here. . . . The Japanese are making extraordinary efforts to be assimilated. They are not citizens, but their children are, and they wish them to be. They are anxious to break up their own colonies, to engage in all sorts of occupations, to acquire American manners, and to get education—all with the motive of adapting themselves to this country. Whether we like them or not, no other foreign-language group is so completely and intelligently organized to control its members, and no other group has at all equaled them in the work of accommodating themselves to alien conditions."—PROFESSOR R. E. PARK and PROFESSOR H. A. MILLER, in "Old World Traits Transplanted."

If the Japanese in America have any virtue, it is the spirit of conciliation, a spirit essential to make it possible for any race to live in harmony and good neighborliness with other races. In view of the vicious attacks and baseless slander directed against the Japanese by the "yellow" politicians and the "yellow" press, the dignity and calmness with which they have acquitted themselves are indeed remarkable. Immediately after the election of November 2, 1920, at which

the California anti-alien land law was adopted, *The New World*, a Japanese language daily in San Francisco, published an editorial which contained the following passage:

“We are convinced that the American tradition of fair play and justice is still a vital force in American life. Our respect and love of Americanism and American institutions have been greatly deepened and strengthened by the experiences we have passed through in the strenuous weeks preceding the election. For this we have every reason to be thankful to the American people.

“At the same time, we feel justified in saying that the Japanese Association and individual Japanese have all along maintained a dignified attitude towards Senator Phelan and other gentlemen who have been advancing the anti-Japanese movement. We have examined every document that has been sent out by the Japanese Association, and we have never come across any remark or criticism about the gentlemen who have been attacking us. We are proud that we have passed through the strenuous weeks with remarkable self-restraint and dignity, and we hope and trust that the Japanese in California, whatever the other side may do, will not lose their mental poise and their dignity of attitude. We have no malice towards anybody, and we face the future with the spirit of tolerance and gratefulness with which we have maintained our position in the past.”

Of the conciliatory spirit of the Japanese we may cite a few notable examples. In 1914 and 1915 the joint conference of the Japanese Associations on the Pacific Coast passed a resolution, recommending the revision of the nationality law of Japan so as to solve the question of dual citizenship. Acting upon this resolution, the Japanese Associations memorialized the legislature of Japan, urging immediate action on this matter.

More recently, that is, in October, 1919, the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco adopted a resolution for the abolition of "picture marriages." (See Chapter IV, Japanese Immigration and the Gentlemen's Agreement.)

When the Japanese language schools became a target of criticism, mainly because of the ignorance of the public of the nature of these schools, the Japanese in Hawaii and California took the initiative to place them under the supervision of the American educational authorities. (See Chapter IX, The Japanese Language Schools.)

Precisely because the Japanese are a conciliatory people, ready to make any reasonable concession for the sake of harmony and peace, such reforms as may be needed with regard to their institutions or organizations can be more easily accomplished, if only California takes a more rational view of the matter and extends a kindly

hand of assistance to the Japanese attempts at self-improvement. The trouble is that whenever California politicians see or fancy anything wrong about the Japanese their favorite sport is to "damn the Jap," and bury him in the heap of odious epithets or vicious falsehoods. This sport of vituperation simply complicates the situation and makes the attainment of the necessary reform the more difficult. The Japanese are but human, and the orgy of mud-slinging on the part of the agitators cannot in time fail to have the effect of stiffening their backbones and making them somewhat recalcitrant. If this California attitude does not change, the time may come when some of the Japanese will say, "What's the use? These agitators care nothing about reforms, they simply want to be nasty about us."

But let us close our eyes to the performance of the politicians, and consider what the Japanese on their part should do for the alleviation of the difficult situation. One of the important things the Japanese must secure is a further revision of the nationality law of Japan so as to divest American-born Japanese of dual citizenship, more completely than under the present law. The revision of 1916, obtained through the activities of the Japanese Associations on the Pacific Coast, went a long way towards the desired end but not far enough.

The Japanese law, as revised in 1916, allows

American-born Japanese to renounce allegiance to Japan only up to seventeen years of age. If, therefore, an American-born Japanese fails to take the necessary step to renounce his Japanese nationality before he is seventeen years old, he will be an American citizen and at the same time a Japanese subject. Reserving the details of this law to later passages, here I must emphasize that the law should be revised so as to allow such Japanese to expatriate themselves from Japan at any time.

True, this desired remedy cannot be obtained by the Japanese in America alone; it must be endorsed by the Japanese Government and adopted by the legislature at Tokyo. But they can work to form united opinion among themselves in favor of the revision of the law, and through appropriate means urge the authorities on the other side of the Pacific to adopt their view. It was due to the same course taken by the Japanese in California that the Government at Tokyo, in February, 1920, put an end to the practice of "picture marriage." I know that the revision we are now seeking is more vital than the "picture bride" question, and that its attainment is proportionately difficult. But if the Japanese in America work hard and in earnest, the end can be attained, perhaps not in the immediate future, but in the course of a few years.

From what I have said it should not be inferred

that the Japanese law of nationality is more unreasonable than the similar laws of European countries. On the contrary, the Japanese law is more liberal than most of the European laws. But the world seems determined to see in Japan a nation more perfect than all others, and I, for one, am quite sure that Japan will lose naught by striving to live up to the world's expectation. Let us, then, study the Japanese law in comparison with European laws.

Broadly speaking, there are two schools of nationality law. One is the Anglo-American school which determines nationality according to the place of birth. The other is the Continental school which recognizes allegiance to the sovereign by reason of blood descent. In the light of the American law, all who are born upon American soil are citizens of the Republic. On the other hand, most European countries claim as their subjects all who are born of their natives whether at home or abroad. Section one, Article VII of the French Civil Code, for instance, provides that "Every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad" is a Frenchman and owes allegiance to France. A similar provision is found in the laws of Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and practically all continental European countries.

Let me illustrate the peculiarity of the Continental law with the case of one Schneider, an

American-born Swiss. His parents were both natives of Switzerland, married young, and came to this country, and the elder Schneider became a naturalized citizen of the United States. This boy was born here, and under the American Constitution was a citizen of the United States. When he was nineteen years old he visited Switzerland to call on relatives still living there. He was immediately seized by the Swiss Government and put into the army. He wrote to the American Secretary of State about his plight, but the Secretary of State told him that the United States could do nothing for him, because it was the law of Switzerland. Finally he said to the Swiss Government, "Name a sum of money I can pay for my release." They named a sum and he paid it and came home to the United States.

Another interesting illustration is found in the case of a Mr. P. A. Lelong, a New Orleans citizen of French parentage. In March, 1915, this American citizen wanted to go to France on business and inquired of the State Department whether the protection of the American law would be extended to him in France. His letter to the State Department was as follows:

"My father, P. A. Lelong, was a native of France, came to New Orleans when he was about twenty years of age, and lived here about forty years. He died here about two years ago, but

about five years before his death took out naturalization papers.

“I was born in New Orleans, June 18, 1880. I have never been out of the United States and have regularly voted as an American citizen since I reached the age of twenty-one years, and if war had ever occurred between France and the United States, I most certainly would have fought for the United States. I have held the office of Township Commissioner in Henderson County, North Carolina, have held several court appointments, both Federal and State, and am a member of the State and Federal bar, and have considered myself as much an American citizen as President Wilson or any of the members of the Cabinet.

“I wish to visit France on business in the near future, and am informed by Mr. Ferrand, the French Consul here, that if I go to France I could be either impressed into the French service or punished for not having reported for military duty, and also for having served in the State Militia of Louisiana without permission from the French Government.

“I contend that if the French Government had any right to claim me as a citizen under their laws, in times of peace they should have called on me to serve my three years in their military service.

“Wishing to know whether my constitutional privileges as an American citizen follow me wherever I go, with its constitutional guarantees, or

whether the United States Government will allow the French Government to act in the manner as stated by Mr. Ferrand, the French Consul, I respectfully request an answer at as early a date as possible."

To this letter, Mr. Robert Lansing, then Counsellor of the State Department, replied as follows:

"Under the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, all persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. Section one, Article VII of the French Civil Code, states that the following are Frenchmen: 'Every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad.'

"It thus appears that you were born with a dual nationality, and the Department cannot, therefore, give you any assurance that you would not be held liable for the performance of military service in France should you voluntarily place yourself within French jurisdiction."

If you read books on international law, notably Professor John Bassett Moore's "Digest of International Law," you will find numerous cases similar to the two I have just described. The California politicians and their "yellow" allies, the newspapers, simply advertise their utter ignorance when they talk as though they found some-

thing new and wonderful in the dual citizenship of the Japanese.

But to come back to the Japanese law of nationality. I have said that, at the earnest and repeated requests of the Japanese Associations of the Pacific Coast, the Japanese Government and Diet, in March, 1916, revised the nationality law which had been in the main similar to those of continental European countries, based upon the principle of blood descent. This revision was made for the specific purpose of harmonizing the Japanese law with the American law which determined nationality by the place of birth and not by blood descent.

The revised law of Japan provides that a Japanese boy who has acquired a foreign nationality by reason of his birth in a foreign country, may, provided he be domiciled in such country, divest himself of Japanese nationality, if his father or other parental authority take the necessary steps to that end before he is fifteen years of age; or, if he has attained the age of fifteen, he may himself take the same step, with the consent of his father or other parental authority, which is necessary until he attains the age of seventeen.

Apply this Japanese provision to the Japanese children born in this country. They will all become American citizens if they take the necessary steps for expatriation, for, in the light of the American law, they are already citizens of the

Republic. Unlike European-Americans their nationality will be "single," not "dual." They will owe their allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, and to no other flag. Credit must be given to the Japanese legislators for this concession to the territorial principle of the American law.

This Japanese law, though more advanced than European laws, has a serious defect in that it permits the Japanese army to enroll American-born Japanese *boys* over seventeen who have failed to take the necessary steps for expatriation before that age. The Japanese in America must make united efforts to remedy this defect.

It may be argued that the above drawback is only apparent, because the Japanese boys, who fail to expatriate before seventeen, may, and as a matter of fact usually do, apply, through the local Japanese consulate, for postponement of enrollment as long as they remain in America. After such Japanese have passed the age of thirty-seven, they are no longer subject to enrollment, and are again free to expatriate. But this method is somewhat irksome and distasteful to American-born Japanese boys, as it requires them to make a new application for the postponement of enrollment every year between seventeen and thirty-seven years of age. As for Japanese *girls* born in America they can expatriate at any time.

But the point which calls for the most serious

consideration is the principle involved, rather than the inconvenience imposed upon the Japanese. That point is that the Japanese law recognizes dual citizenship of American-born Japanese during the best years of their lives, a recognition which is in direct conflict with the American principles of nationality.

We have discussed the expatriation of American-born Japanese. How about the expatriation of Japanese born in Japan but domiciled in America? Does the Japanese Government allow such Japanese to renounce their allegiance to it?

On this point the Nationality Law of Japan provides that a person, who has acquired a foreign nationality by his own choice, loses Japanese nationality.

This is apparently reasonable. But here, too, the same provision, making American-born Japanese boys subject to military enrollment, obtrudes itself; that is, no able-bodied male Japanese between seventeen and thirty-seven years of age is allowed to forswear his inherent nationality. Under the conscription laws of Japan a boy at seventeen becomes a member of the Kokumin-Gun (national army), though his active service of three years does not begin until he is twenty. After three years of active service he becomes a member of the reserve, and remains so until he is thirty-seven. This means that a Japanese born in Japan, if physically qualified to become a sol-

dier and actually enrolled, cannot, until he is thirty-seven, become an American citizen even in the event of naturalization being extended to him. After he has passed thirty-seven he is absolutely free to renounce allegiance to the Japanese flag. If a Japanese boy is exempt from enrollment for any reason he may expatriate at any time.

This, in brief, is the Japanese law of nationality and expatriation. On the whole it is more liberal, and more in harmony with the American principle, than are European laws. But the reservations it provides for the military service are, from the American point of view, deplorable and should be removed, if the Japanese here are to receive equal treatment under the laws of the United States.

The following extract from the Nationality Law of Japan gives only those articles which have direct bearing upon this discussion:

Article XVIII. When a Japanese, by becoming the wife of a foreigner, has acquired the husband's nationality, then such Japanese loses her Japanese nationality.

Article XX. A person who voluntarily acquires a foreign nationality loses Japanese nationality. In case a Japanese subject, who has acquired foreign nationality by reason of his or her birth in a foreign country, has domiciled in that country, he or she may be expatriated with

the permission of the Minister of State for Home Affairs.

The application for the permission referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be made by the legal representative in case the person to be expatriated is younger than fifteen years of age. If the person in question is a minor above fifteen years of age, or a person adjudged incompetent, the application can be made with the consent of his or her legal representative or guardian.

A stepfather, a stepmother, a legal mother, or a guardian may not make the application or give the consent prescribed in the preceding paragraph without the consent of the family council. A person who has been expatriated loses Japanese nationality.

Article XXIV. Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding articles a male of full seventeen years or more does not lose Japanese nationality, unless he has completed active service in the army or navy, or he is under no obligation to enter into it. A person who actually occupies an official post—civil or military—does not lose Japanese nationality notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing articles.

A movement is now on foot among the Japanese Associations on the Pacific Coast and in Hawaii to secure further revision of the nationality law of Japan. On November 28, 1919, the American-born Japanese in Hawaii addressed to

the Japanese Government and legislature a petition, asking it to release the Hawaiian Japanese from all obligations to Japan. The petition reads as follows:

“We, the members of the American-Japanese Association of the Territory of Hawaii, comprising practically all those born of Japanese parentage within the confines of the United States, who are now living within the Territory of Hawaii, respectfully petition that the attention of the Japanese Parliament be called to the matter herein stated, so that remedial legislation can be had to protect us and to prevent our position as citizens of the United States from being misunderstood.

“We are all men of Japanese parentage, born on the soil of the United States, and who have been educated in the schools of that country. We wish to be considered citizens of the country in which we are now living, and to show that men of Japanese ancestry can be as loyal to the country of their adoption as men of other ancestry residing therein.

“The present Japanese law as to declaration of citizenship works a great hardship for us. The question of dual citizenship and the criticisms which have been made against American-born Japanese have caused us to feel that some legislation should be passed by the country of our ancestors that will free us from any obligation to it, and allow those of us, who have located within

the United States with the purpose and intention of remaining and interesting ourselves in the affairs of that country, to show that we can be good and loyal citizens of the country of our adoption. It is impossible to do this, while the country of our forefathers refuses to allow us to be recognized as American citizens through the restriction of its law and claims us as her own.

“We are trying in our small way to cement the great and ancient friendship between America and Japan by loyalty to the home in which we live; and we respectfully petition that at the coming session of the Japanese Parliament, a law be enacted, whereby those of Japanese descent can select their own citizenship without restriction of law, and, having once made such selection, can remain as citizens of that country without any question of dual allegiance.”

Simultaneously with the dispatch of the above petition to Japan, the Hawaiian Japanese memorialized President Wilson, asking for his good offices in securing the desired revision of the Japanese law.

In conclusion it is only fair to add a few words on what America should do on this question. It is obviously wrong to make the Japanese nationality law the sole object of attack, and say nothing against European nationality laws which are much more out of harmony with the American law. What America should do is to

have a conference with all foreign nations whose nationality laws conflict with her own, and thus arrive at an agreement which will eliminate the mooted question of dual citizenship. It seems to me that the matter might well be submitted to the League of Nations whose object is to dispose of just such questions involving international conflict of laws. When Pacific Coast agitators single out the Japanese nationality law as an object of attack and close their eyes to the more unreasonable laws of European nations, I am compelled to doubt their sincerity and question their motive.

CHAPTER XII

THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATIONS IN AMERICA

"One of the great beauties of nature is her mingling of unlike things, each serving the other's needs. This universal order, since the stars sang their morning song together, has been the blending of a multitude of things which, in our human knowledge of them, we have set apart. Nature consists thus of diversity in unity. Her divided and subdivided kingdoms exist only in the thought of man. She is not like our human life, marked off into its political states with their boundaries and barriers. Her various systems pervade and penetrate each other. They live upon and by one another. In our human order also, when we live its freest life, we do not gather ourselves together so much upon the basis of similarity as of unlikeness. The family is the highest type of our mutual life and it is a bringing together of the unlike and the opposite."—DR. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

In February, 1918, when feeling against Germany ran high, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary at Washington instituted an investigation into the nature and activities of the German-American Alliance, whose headquarters were in Philadelphia and which claimed three million members scattered throughout the country. At one of the hearings held by the committee, Mr. Gustavus Ohlinger, a lawyer

and then President of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce, testified against the German organization and summarized its object as follows:

To consolidate all Germans in the United States into one economic, political and social "bloc."

To arouse antagonism of race and thereby insure closer unity of Germans in America.

To scatter propaganda inspired by the Imperial German Government broadcast throughout the American republic.

To foment opposition to the policies of the United States Government.

To further the aims and plots of disloyal persons, parties and organizations in this country.

To agitate resistance to the prohibition of the use of alcoholic stimulants throughout the United States.

Another witness, Mr. Richard M. Hurd, then Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Defense Society, urging the revocation of the charter of the German-American Alliance granted by Congress in 1900, quoted the following speech said to have been made by the Kaiser shortly before:

"Even now I rule supreme in the United States, where almost one-half the population is either of German descent or birth, and where 3,000,000 German voters do my bidding at the presidential elections. No American administra-

tion could remain in power against the will of the German voters, who, through that admirable organization, the German-American National League of the United States of America, control the destinies of the vast Republic beyond the sea. If man was ever worthy of high decoration at my hands it was Herr Hexamer, the president of the league, who may justly be termed, by my grace, the acting ruler of all the Germans in the United States."

At another hearing Mr. John Tjarks, the treasurer of the Alliance, was reported to have admitted that the Alliance collected, just before America's entrance into the war, a sum of \$800,000 which was handed to Count von Bernstoff, the German Ambassador at Washington, and that the Alliance had also raised \$700,000 to fight the prohibition movement.

I am certain that some of the charges brought against the German-American Alliance were grossly exaggerated, and that some were even groundless. But the wide publicity given to the anti-German statements in those days scared many an American and drove him hysterical. As a consequence the Americans have come to look with suspicious eyes upon everything foreign in their midst. They have come to look askance not only at associations with foreign elements but also at foreign language newspapers and schools. The present critical attitude of some Americans

toward the Japanese Associations and language schools is in a measure a reflection of this general anti-foreign sentiment born of the war and especially the German part in it.

Fortunately Americans are not lacking who look at the question more rationally. The views of this sensible element are well represented in the following statement recently made by Mr. Edward H. Blestadt, Associate Director of the Bureau of the Foreign Language Information Service of the American Red Cross:

“It is strange that so many of the self-styled ‘Americanizers’ should rail at the foreign language on the theory that it helps to isolate the alien and preserve his racial interests and tendencies. This is actually far from being the truth. The foreign language press serves two missions in this. On the one hand, it keeps the immigrant of the first generation in some touch with his homeland, with its politics, its general interests, and even with the gossip of his own small area in some instances. The desire of the newly arrived immigrant for this type of information is not only natural, but even praiseworthy. He who shifts from the old love too easily is fickle in all his affections. In the next generation this need has passed, in large part, and in the third it exists no longer. Three generations is not too long in which to make a good American citizen. But over and above this, the foreign

language press is a very definite factor in assimilation. It is not only the most valuable medium of interpretation between the native and the foreign-born, but it is practically the only such medium. Without it the immigrant would have no go-between to bridge the gap which inevitably separates him from his native-born neighbor and the country of his adoption."

The above opinion refers especially to the foreign language press, but the same holds true with regard to "foreign" associations and language schools.

On the Pacific Coast and in the neighboring states there are four central Japanese Associations, each affiliating a number of local Japanese associations. These central organizations are:

1. The United Northwestern Japanese Association, Seattle, with which are affiliated some 15 local associations in Washington and Montana, with a total membership of about 8,860.
2. The Japanese Association of Oregon, Portland, which comprises three or four local associations in Oregon and Idaho.
3. The Japanese Association of America, San Francisco, comprising about 40 local bodies, totaling some 16,000 members, in Northern California, Nevada, Utah and Colorado.
4. The Central Japanese Association of South-

ern California, comprising 19 local associations, with 8,000 members, in eight counties of Southern California.

These four central bodies hold a conference annually, each sending two delegates. Usually the conference lasts two or three days and discusses matters in which they are commonly interested. It was this conference which was largely instrumental in securing in 1916 the revision of the nationality law of Japan with a view to divesting the American-born Japanese of dual citizenship. (See Chapter XI.)

As the organization and work of the four central associations are practically the same, we may illustrate them with those of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco. The prototype of this Association was organized in San Francisco in 1900 and was incorporated under the law of California in August of that year. At that time the Association had only a few local organizations to affiliate. Since then more associations have sprung up in different localities. In 1905, when vigorous anti-Japanese agitation was started by an ex-convict and a San Francisco newspaper, these local bodies sent delegates to San Francisco and held a conference. As the result of this conference the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco was recognized

as the central organization with which the others were affiliated.

The agreement, or constitution, of the Association states its purpose as follows:

“The purpose of this Association shall be to elevate the character of Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States.”

Pursuant to this purpose, the Association undertakes various tasks. First, it protects newcomers from Japan, and teaches them how to adjust themselves to the new environment. Secondly, it takes due share in the Americanization movement of the American people. All American governmental authorities will bear testimony to the good and patriotic work which the Association performed during the war. In the execution of instructions issued by the Food Administration, in the raising of war loans, in the enlistment of Red Cross members, and in all duties expected of loyal Americans, the Association was always glad to render service. (See Appendix C, Table 21.)

Mr. K. Kanzaki, General Secretary of the Japanese Association of America, describing this organization in his informing pamphlet, “California and the Japanese,” explains its educational work in this language:

“One of the secretaries appears before the Immigration office every time Japanese arrive at the port of San Francisco, and not only aids them through all the formalities of landing, but also sees that each newcomer understands and practices his new duties as a resident in the new land. Our aim is to protect and aid the newcomers through coöperation with every institution connected with immigration.

“The uplift of Japanese residents in America has received our unfailing attention and emphasis from the very beginning of the Association. At first this movement took the form of what we termed social education and economic development. The purpose of this work is to impart to our fellow-countrymen elementary facts of American life, to teach them that assimilation is the first step for their success, and to convince them that by contributing to the national interests of America they can attain their own development. Among the more important activities of this nature are the following: Women’s meetings, whose chief purpose is to call attention of the Japanese women in America to their social position and the education of their children; publication of pamphlets with particular reference to birth and care of babies; anti-gambling campaigns; and lectures on general social betterment. In order to facilitate and to better accomplish such important work we have published, from time to time, Japanese translations of such useful books as ‘Camp Sanitation’ and ‘Mother’s Guide.’ For such purposes the Asso-

ciation expended over two thousand dollars during the last year.

"Our Americanization movement has been virtually the same as the program of the American Government. However, the following two points may be stated on which we placed special emphasis: first, to encourage the learning of the English language and to furnish the necessary and suitable equipment for this particular work; second, to impart the knowledge of American life to the Japanese people so that they may easily understand Americanism.

"As to the first point, namely, to encourage the learning of the English language, we made special efforts to facilitate this difficult work by employing every means at our command. We encouraged its study among the old settlers and helped to organize classes for women and children and to secure proper teachers for them. We call special attention to the resolution which was adopted in February, 1918. In order to educate the children and young men and women coming from Japan in the English language and to lead them to American ideals, the parents were asked to pledge themselves to send them to public schools not later than one year after their arrival in this country. This work was carefully supervised by the local affiliated Associations. If they are of the school age, the attendance at the public schools was made compulsory through the same supervision. We have also helped them in selecting the textbooks so that they can learn the language properly, and, at the same time,

become familiar with America. With regard to the other phase of the campaign, the work chiefly consists of popular lectures and distribution of pamphlets and circulars. These lectures are for the purpose of familiarizing the local Japanese with America, and varied topics were discussed covering American history and civics, economics, industry, religion, education, social life, home life and house-keeping, hygiene and the like. A free distribution of pamphlets and circulars on similar subjects was also effective particularly at the places where lectures could not be held. In accomplishing this work, we have asked the Japanese schools, churches, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., clubs and other organizations, newspapers and magazines to coöperate with us in the campaign, and they have eagerly responded to make it a success. For this work alone, this Association and that of Southern California appropriated approximately five thousand dollars last year."

That the above description is no exaggeration is proved by competent American observers. For instance, Professor Burnight, of the University of Southern California, who made a scholarly investigation of the Japanese situation in Los Angeles and vicinity, arrived at the conclusion that the Japanese Associations are a valuable asset to the Americanization movement. With particular reference to the Association of Los Angeles city, he has this to say:

“This organization has a comprehensive program for the Americanization of the Japanese in Los Angeles County and the program is being worked successfully. Mr. J. Kasai, the Secretary of the Association, explained that their plan consisted mostly of education. He said that his people needed instruction in every subject that would help them become better citizens. The Association seeks to instruct them in farming, housing, sanitation, hygiene, citizenship, for the men; and dietetics, preparation of food, care of the home, hygiene, nursing, care of babies and children, for the women, and many other subjects which an American citizen should know. Their method of reaching the farmers is to hold meetings in each locality about twice a week. These meetings are addressed by the Secretary of the Association or one of his assistants and by some expert in the line to be discussed.”

The question of importance is the financial organization of the central associations, as well as that of the local bodies affiliated with them. In explaining this, we again take as a typical case the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco and its affiliated local organizations.

The income of the local associations is derived from three sources:

1. Membership dues, varying according to locality from \$3 to \$6 a year.
2. Voluntary contributions.

3. Fees for endorsing applications for various certificates for resident Japanese.

Of the sum realized from membership dues, 15 per cent is turned over to the central organization, the Japanese Association of America, to help finance the mother institution.

Of the fees collected for endorsing applications for various certificates a major part is also turned over to the central association. These applications and fees for endorsing them are as follows:

1. Endorsement of application for a certificate, showing that its holder is a resident of America and is going to Japan with the intention of coming back here. Fee for this endorsement is \$4.

2. Endorsement of application for a certificate permitting its holder to send for his or her parents, wife or husband, or children, as provided in the "gentlemen's agreement." Fee for this service is \$4. This certificate is sent to Japan to be used in order to secure passports from the Foreign Office.

3. Endorsement of application for the so-called "English Certificate," or "emergency passport," of which there are two kinds, both issued by the Japanese consulate. One entitles its holder to go abroad, Europe for instance, and the other permits the holder to go to Angel Island to meet and receive his relative whom he had sent for. Fee for this endorsement is \$4.

4. Endorsement of application for a certificate, permitting the holder to postpone enrollment in the Japanese army (see Chapter XI, Dual Citizenship). Fee for this endorsement is \$2.

5. Endorsement of application for a certificate proving that the holder is a Japanese lawfully admitted to America. This certificate is required by the passport regulations adopted during the war by the American Government, in case an alien, who has lost his passport, wishes to go abroad. Fee for this endorsement is \$4.

These certificates, with the exception of the fourth concerning enrollment in the Japanese army, are required by the American Government. The first, second, and third classes of certificates are a result of the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907, restricting Japanese immigration.

Of the fees collected by local associations for endorsing various applications, about three-fourths are turned over to the central association, the remaining one-fourth being retained as income for the local organizations. The central association having received the sum realized from the fees, devotes one-half of it to ordinary expenditure, but reserves the other half for emergency expenditures.

Here it must be explained that no Japanese Association issues any certificate. The certificates are issued by the Japanese Consulate. But in order to issue a certificate the Consulate must

investigate and make sure that the applicant is qualified or entitled to receive it. This is a task which it is impossible for the Consulate to undertake. Consequently, it has delegated this cumbersome work to the Japanese Associations. If a Japanese wishes to obtain a certificate of residence in order to go to Japan for a visit, he goes to the Association of his own locality, and applies for it. The Association inquires into the history and status of the applicant, and endorses or rejects the application according to the result of the investigation. For obvious reason this method has been found more expeditious and effective than any method that the Consulate could devise for this work. It obviates delay and secures efficiency. It would be too much to say that no Association has ever abused the authority thus delegated by the Consulate, but on the whole the system has worked admirably and to the satisfaction of the immigration authorities of the United States.

I have explained the financial sources of the local Associations. Much of their incomes is, as I have said, paid over to the central association. Naturally their resources are small, but their expenditures are correspondingly moderate. Most local Associations have only one secretary, whose salary does not exceed \$100 a month. In the larger local bodies, such as the association at Sacramento or Fresno, two or three secretaries may be found.

From the above description, the financial sources of the central association are evident. They are:

1. Fifteen per cent. of membership dues collected by local associations. The income from this source for the Japanese Association of America in 1920 amounted to \$9,000. The central association has no members of its own, its members being the local associations.

2. Approximately three-fourths of the fees collected by the local associations for endorsing applications for various certificates. About one-half of the fund thus raised is used for ordinary expenditure. In 1920 this amounted to \$6,500.

3. Voluntary contributions. These amounted to \$3,500 in 1920.

All in all, the total ordinary income of the Japanese Association of America for 1920 was something like \$19,000. As against this income, the ordinary expenditure was as follows:

Salary	\$10,200.00
Rent	840.00
Stationery and Printing.....	800.00
Traveling and Miscellaneous.....	1,600.00
Correspondence	800.00
Investigation	300.00
Incidental Expenditures, such as entertainment and relief work	2,500.00
Meetings	700.00
Anti-gambling campaign	500.00
Educational work	600.00
Total	<hr/> \$18,840.00

One day last summer (1920), when a subcommittee of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization was holding public hearings at Seattle, the newspapers on the coast published, under the usual "scare" headlines, an astounding statement purporting to have been made by Representative Albert Johnson, the chairman of the committee. The alleged statement was to the effect that the Japanese Associations in California had been systematically assisting in the smuggling of Japanese across the Mexican border. Of course Mr. Johnson never said this. When he saw this garbled statement in the newspapers, he could hardly believe his eyes. He promptly issued a denial, stating that what he said was that no Japanese Association he had investigated kept a record of how its members entered this country. As usual the denial was either ignored or printed under obscure headlines which the average newspaper reader could not notice. It is needless to say that no Japanese Association has ever lent a helping hand to any smuggler. On the contrary all associations have always been on the alert to coöperate with the American immigration authorities in apprehending and deporting smugglers.

The Agreement of the Japanese
Association of America at San Francisco.

Article 1—This Association shall be known as the Japanese Association of America.

Article 2—The purpose of this Association shall be to elevate the character of all Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States of America.

Article 3—This Association is organized by the local Japanese associations within the jurisdiction of the Japanese Consulate-General of San Francisco.

The requirements and qualifications of affiliation between this Association and each local association shall be decided by the Executive Council.

Article 4—The office of the Association shall be in the City of San Francisco, State of California.

Article 5—There shall be the following officers of the Association, to wit: a President, a Vice President, a Committee on Finance, consisting of four (4) members; a Committee on Management, consisting of seven (7) members, and a Board of Directors, consisting of fifteen (15) members.

The officers of this Association shall not receive any compensation.

Article 6—The President, the Vice President and the Committee on Management shall be

elected by the Board of Directors from among the members of each local association affiliating with this Association.

The Committee on Finance shall be selected by the President.

The Board of Directors shall be elected at the Delegate Convention.

Article 7—The term of office for the officers shall be one year, but they may be reëlected for another term.

A vacancy in any office or position shall be filled for the unexpired term by the Board of Directors.

Article 8—The President shall preside over the meetings of the Committee on Management of the Board of Directors; he shall supervise each and every affair of the Association; and he shall represent the Association in general.

The Vice President shall assist the President and perform the latter's duties during his absence.

The Committee on Management shall organize itself into a meeting of the Committee on Management and shall manage the business of the Association.

Article 9—The Board of Directors shall organize the meeting of the Board of Directors and shall elect the President, the Vice President, and the Committee on Management; it shall also carry out the business of the Association according to the resolutions adopted by the Delegate Convention.

Article 10—The Committee on Management shall meet once a month. A special meeting of

the said Committee may be called by the President when he shall deem it necessary or at the request of one-third or more votes of the members of the Committee.

The Board of Directors shall meet four times a year, to wit, in January, April, July, and October.

Article 11—The secretarial staffs of the Association shall consist of a General Secretary, several Assistants, and several Clerks, and they shall be appointed by the President and with the consent of the Committee on Management.

Article 12—The General Secretary shall execute the general business of the Association under the supervision of the President; the Assistant Secretaries and Clerks shall execute their respective duties under the instruction of the General Secretary.

Article 13—The Delegate Convention shall be constituted by the representatives of the local affiliated Japanese associations, according to the following apportionment:

Japanese Association of San Francisco.....	6
Japanese Association of Sacramento Valley.....	3
Japanese Association of Fresno.....	3
Japanese Association of Stockton.....	2
Japanese Association of Oakland.....	2
Other Associations, each.....	1

In case of a newly affiliated association, the representations for the first year shall be decided by the Board of Directors, which decision must be approved by the next regular Delegate Convention.

Article 14—The Delegate Convention shall meet once a year. A special Delegate Convention may be called by the President when he shall deem it necessary or at the request of five or more affiliated associations.

Article 15—The Delegate Convention shall consider and act upon the important business of the Association, shall discuss and approve the financial budget for the corresponding year, and shall examine the record and audit the financial report.

Article 16—A majority of the delegates shall constitute a quorum of the Delegate Convention, while a majority of the delegates present shall constitute a quorum for the business of the Convention.

Article 17—The current expenditures of the Association shall be met by the avowed dues from local affiliated associations, certificate fees, and voluntary contributions.

Article 18—The fiscal year of the Association shall begin each year on the first day of January and shall end on the thirty-first day of December.

Article 19—The income and the expenditure of the Association shall be fixed by the annual appropriation.

Article 20—This Agreement shall be amended only by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present at the Delegate Convention.

Article 21—The By-laws of this Agreement shall be formulated at the meeting of the Board of Directors.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION

"No one would propose that a nation should divest itself of its sovereign right to say who may or who may not enter its gates. But the time has come when every civilized nation should say that an alien, once granted the privilege of entering its territory or of residing therein, should have precisely the same rights, privileges, and duties both as to legal protection and as to taxation that belong to citizens. Nine-tenths of the diplomatic friction that now exists in the world would pass away were such a humane and broad-minded policy adopted by all nations."—PRESIDENT NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, Columbia University.

"Our Japanese friends, with their wonderful solidarity of nationhood, reaching a long ways into the past, must be patient and generous towards our seething and struggling population, as the process goes on of trying to bring unity of life and consistency of high aim into the America that is yet to be. I have long believed that in the nature of things the mutual friendship between the American and Japanese governments ought, without any formal bonds of alliance, to be quite as strong and unshakable as that between any other two governments in the world."—DR. ALBERT SHAW.

Not long ago the president of a great Western university said in a public statement that Japan was scheming to perpetuate the California question with a view to utilizing it as a smoke screen behind which she might advance her interests in the Far East. He makes the happy caricature of a man casting coquettish eyes towards the

politicians who appropriate money for his school, for the university in question is a part of the state political machine. Let us ignore such twaddle, and seriously consider the basis upon which the two nations may come to an agreement.

As far as Japan is concerned, the solution of the question ought not to be difficult, if only California is disposed to apply reason and wisdom to it. For she is but too anxious to get the perennial trouble in California out of her way if she can only do so without jeopardizing the prestige and dignity with which the Powers have by common consent clothed her.

How, then, shall we solve the question? The California exclusionists, of course, want an exclusion law enacted by the Federal Government. They will brandish their fists in your face, and boisterously tell you that this great powerful country of theirs has the right to say to Japan, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." They contend that the American Government has the right to decide for itself what people shall be admitted, and which should be barred out. Indeed a nation can do anything, if backed by sufficient force. But this is a theory pregnant with danger. In this modern age of enlightenment, such theories should not be emphasized. Rather should the nations strive to settle international affairs in a mutual spirit of concession and

conciliation—on the principle of “live and let live.”

International usage, unwritten but nevertheless in force, rules that no nation should be discriminated against by any Power with which it is on a plane of equality. A nation, admitted by universal verdict into the comity of the world's foremost Powers, must enjoy the courtesies, privileges and rights usually accorded such Powers. As the world advances along the path of civilization this theory must receive greater recognition. That the restriction of immigration is one of the sovereign rights of a nation does not mean that it may adopt arbitrary rules freely admitting immigrants from one country and rigorously excluding those from another. If a nation finds it necessary to adopt an exclusion law, such a law should be made applicable to all nations, or at any rate to those nations admitted to the family of advanced Powers. If a nation may arbitrarily discriminate against one country and favor another in the matter of immigration, there is no reason or logic that deprives that nation of the right to adopt arbitrary and discriminatory measures in other matters, the tariff for instance?

Backed by force, all nations can adopt such measures of arbitrary discrimination. But the consequence of such a practice would be international chaos and disturbance. If an interna-

tional question is amenable to amicable adjustment by mutual concession on the part of the parties concerned, this course should by all means be preferred to that of might and force as advocated by jingoistic exclusionists.

Admitting, for argument's sake, that America has the right to discriminate against a people or race, would she be willing to concede to Japan the same right of discrimination with regard to her citizens going to or living in Japan? Suppose Japan singled out the Americans as objects of discrimination, and enacted all sort of laws obstructing their entrance into her territory and hindering or prohibiting their activities and enterprises under her jurisdiction, what would the powerful Government of these United States say to Japan? As a matter of principle, such a practice on the part of Japan would not long be tolerated by America. At any rate it is certain that such policies of mutual discrimination and persecution will give birth to endless international troubles and ultimately create a grave situation.

Moreover, from a practical point of view it is doubtful whether an exclusion law, similar to that of the Chinese Exclusion Law, will give the United States a greater advantage than does an agreement based upon mutual good faith and good will. An American, a native of California, who has for five years made a very close observa-

tion of the working of the Chinese Exclusion Law, as well as the operation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between America and Japan, makes these pertinent remarks upon the merits of the exclusion act:

"The Chinese Exclusion Act limits the admission of Chinese to the United States to persons of a well-defined status. It is incumbent upon the United States immigration officials to determine whether or not Chinese applying for permission to enter this country come within the statutes. This has its advantage in that the United States, through its agents, is in entire control of the situation. A distinct disadvantage lies in the fact that it is often extremely difficult for an official in the United States to ascertain accurately the status of a Chinese who presents himself for examination. The official is compelled to pass upon evidence presented to him. He has little to offset this and therefore must first act somewhat in the capacity of a prosecuting attorney, and finally attempt to become a fair and unprejudiced judge of facts and law. It is needless to point out that in practice this is an extremely difficult thing to do.

"The Chinese Exclusion Act has had a serious result which tends in a marked degree to defeat the very purpose for which it was designed. There is absolutely no doubt but that the Chinese feel that this measure is a discrimination against their race. This has resulted in constant efforts

to evade the law. Certain Chinese believe they are justified in defeating regulations which are essentially discriminatory and, therefore, unfair. Many Chinese have entered San Francisco illegally. This is a proved fact and evidenced by a complete investigation made a number of years ago at the San Francisco Immigration Station, which led to dismissals from the service, together with indictments. Furthermore, a great many Chinese have gone to Mexico and entered the United States by crossing the border. Another favorite method of evasion is for Chinese sailors to desert their ships in this country. This occurs continuously, and is becoming more serious each month. It is not an exaggeration to state that thousands of Chinese have entered the United States without examination. After having gained admission it is practically impossible to locate and deport them. This constant evasion of the law is directly traceable to the sentiment of hostility created among Chinese by the Chinese Exclusion Act.

“At the time of the enactment of this excluding law it was considered an absolute barrier to Chinese immigration. This, however, has not proved to be the case. United States officials and others who have observed the effect of this law for a number of years realize that as a practical measure it is subject to much criticism. Furthermore, it is doubtful if amendments can rectify the difficulties. Other loopholes could and would be found. It is impossible to put into effect an ex-

cluding measure which will in fact bring about iron-clad exclusion.

“In view of the conditions existing in China, it is probably impossible to improve upon the general plan now in effect. The situation, however, is very different in Japan, and therefore there is no necessity of adopting another Exclusion Act which certainly would carry with it the same difficulties of enforcement and the numerous evasions now arising under the Act directed against the Chinese.

“An exclusion law is necessarily a measure discriminating against a particular people. It cannot be otherwise than offensive to the people affected. The Japanese are a race justly proud of their national accomplishments. A law which singles them out in an adverse manner will prove a constant source of irritation and international friction. The possibilities to which this may lead are not pleasant to contemplate. Surely an exclusion act which does not entirely exclude, and which is so pregnant with dire possibilities, should not be considered—at least, not until every other method has failed.”

In my humble judgment, and in the judgment of many sensible Americans, a reasonable, workable, and satisfactory arrangement for further restriction of Japanese immigration may be made upon the following basis:

1. America must find a way to guarantee to the Japanese the enjoyment of all economic

privileges accorded to aliens coming from the "most favored" country. This does not necessarily mean the granting of citizenship to the Japanese, nor will Japan ask for it as long as no individual state, under the pretense of legislation applicable to all aliens, intentionally discriminates against the Japanese.

2. Japan must agree to stop the emigration of her subjects to America with these three exceptions: (a) Japanese who are lawfully here and who have established independent business, commercial or agricultural, should be allowed to send for wives whom they had married before they came to America, or to go to Japan for marriage and return here with wives within a reasonable time. (b) Japanese, lawfully admitted and having established business in this country, should be allowed to send for their children under a certain age, whom they had left in Japan, and who depend upon them for support. (c) Japanese, lawfully admitted and with established domicile, in this country should be allowed to go and visit Japan with the privilege of returning.

These arrangements should be couched in plain terms which permit of no misunderstanding, but should not be included in a formal treaty of amity and commerce. They can be provided for in diplomatic notes to be exchanged between the representatives of the two governments and

made public in both countries. This will protect Japan's dignity as a civilized Power, and will, at the same time, prove far more effective than the present Gentlemen's Agreement.

The above ideas are given merely as a suggestion. Their details must be more carefully considered and scrutinized. What I want to emphasize is the spirit of mutual concession which must be the basis of such arrangements. The attitude of a bully is not the right attitude in dealing with international questions.

Admitting that such arrangements as have been above outlined can be made, we may go a step further and create an American-Japanese commission to expedite their effective enforcement. This idea of creating an international commission for the efficient control of Japanese immigration is advanced and explained at some length by Mr. M. E. Mitchell, American Secretary of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco, who has for several years observed the operation of the "gentlemen's agreement," and knows thoroughly its merits and demerits. In a document submitted to the Congressional Committee on Immigration Mr. Mitchell gives the following opinion as to how the present immigration arrangements with Japan might be improved:

"In view of the advantages and disadvantages of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement,' it is apparent

that the proper course to pursue is to alter that Agreement so as to include such other terms as may be desirable. If restriction of Japanese immigration is to be effective, Japan must be made a party to the contract. She must be asked to limit the issuance of passports, and to permit only those to come to the United States who possess such passports. At the same time it is proposed to create in the United States additional regulations covering the cases of all Japanese who enter without passports. I believe that this can be worked out so as to strictly control immigration, and at the same time avoid the pernicious effect of an excluding measure.

“The first step is the appointment of a Commission composed of Americans and Japanese. This Commission will fully discuss all the phases of Japanese immigration, and formulate rules and regulations dealing with every possibility which may arise. In this manner Japan will assist in the promulgation of the rules, and will be expected to take every precaution so far as she is able to see that these rules are given full force and effect. So far, this means a reënactment of the Gentlemen’s Agreement except that the entire immigration question will be covered with the view of more rigid restriction, and the regulations decided upon will be put into writing, and published if desirable.

“In addition, the Commission shall appoint an American Secretary whose duty it shall be to remain in Washington and pass upon such cases as may be brought before him. This Secretary

would have to be authorized to decide cases coming under the new Gentlemen's Agreement. It is suggested that the decision of the Secretary be made final.

"No attempt is made here to designate the manner in which the Commission and Secretary may be empowered to act. This may be done, possibly, by Congress authorizing the appointment of a Commission to handle the question of Japanese immigration, and at the same time providing that the rules laid down by this body, which will include the power of the Secretary to act in individual cases, shall have the full force and effect of law. Such procedure is closely analogous to the regulation governing the immigration of Japanese from Hawaii to continental United States which is based on a provision contained in Section 3 of the Immigration Laws, Act of February 5, 1919. It is well established that Congress possesses broad powers over immigration, and there seems to be no doubt but that the above suggestion, or some other plan of a similar nature, would fall within these powers.

"This procedure would be extremely simple and would not require any alteration or addition to the present immigration force. The immigration officials would handle all Japanese cases in the first instance. If it appeared that there might be a breach of the Gentlemen's Agreement, or if a Japanese attempted to enter the United States without a passport, or was found to have illegally entered this country and could not be reached by the terms of the Immigration Laws

now in effect, the provisions of the Gentlemen's Agreement would be applied. In all such cases the Japanese would be given the right of appeal; but if the matter properly fell within the scope of the Gentlemen's Agreement, this appeal would be made to the Secretary of the Commission, and his decision would dispose of the case. This plan would not interfere in any way with existing immigration laws, and all cases coming within these laws would be handled in the manner prescribed.

"In this way the coöperation of Japan can be obtained and immigration from Japan more effectively regulated and controlled than that from any other country. The very fact that Japan would be made a party to the plan warrants the conclusion that it would not prove offensive to her. International friction would be avoided as completely as in the case of the Gentlemen's Agreement now in operation. The method proposed is merely the Gentlemen's Agreement followed to its logical conclusion. The United States and Japan together lay down certain rules governing the immigration of Japanese, and in this joint enterprise they further provide a method by which these rules would be enforced."

What I have above set forth indicates one way of solving the Japanese question. Another way is found in a plan to admit only so many immigrants of each race or people as can be wholesomely Americanized. According to this plan the number of admissible immigrants of each

race should be estimated upon the basis of percentage of the number of those individuals of each race already in this country who have become Americanized. This program couples the restriction or regulation of immigrants with the extension of citizenship to all aliens admitted, thus securing equal treatment for all who are lawfully in America with the intention of residing here permanently. This, in short, is the idea advocated by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation (105 East 22nd Street, New York City). The plan calls for the creation of an immigration board consisting of Secretaries of State, Labor, Commerce, Interior, and Agriculture, and a sixth member appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This board shall determine yearly the maximum number of immigrants of each race or people to be admitted to the country. In determining this matter the board shall take into consideration these factors:

- (a) The demonstrated assimilability of each people as shown by the United States Census, in regard to the number of each people who have become citizens by naturalization and also the number of American-born children of that people.
- (b) Labor conditions in the United States, whether industrial, agricultural, domestic or other.

- (c) The maintenance of American standards of living and wages.
- (d) The fitness and availability of each people for general or for special needs and for various localities.

This program proposes to grant citizenship to all aliens thus admitted. At the same time it raises the standards of naturalization so as to include among other requirements at least the ability to read an ordinary American newspaper, some real knowledge of the history of the United States and an intelligent acceptance of the practices and ideals of our democracy.

Heretofore America has been careless and indiscriminate in naturalizing aliens. The standards of naturalization have been low, admitting to citizenship many undesirable aliens ill-qualified to assume duties as American citizens. What is more absurd, the present law gives citizenship to many non-Caucasians, such as Tartars, Finns and Hungarians; Turks, Syrians, Persians and Hindus; Mexicans and South Americans; Zulus, Hottentots, Kaffirs and men from any tribe in Africa; but it denies the same privilege to Japanese and Chinese, however well qualified they may be. The new program proposes to remove this absurdity. At the same time, it includes a device whereby Chinese and Japanese immigration will be more effectively checked

and controlled. In a sense, therefore, this plan is a camouflage for the exclusion of Oriental immigration. But even such a plan would be preferable to the present situation periodically giving birth to the hydra of anti-alien legislation, causing annoyance to the Federal Government and embarrassment to the foreign nations affected. The details of the plan above referred to will be found in the bill (H. R. 14196) introduced into Congress by Representative Welty in May, 1920.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM

"They do not realize that in Asia the average brain is not one whit inferior in quality to the average European brain; that history shows Asiatics to be as bold, as vigorous, as generous, as self-sacrificing, and as capable of strong collective action as Europeans, and that there are and must continue to be a great many more Asiatics than Europeans in the world. Under modern conditions world-wide economic and educational equalization is in the long run inevitable."—H. G. WELLS.

In 1920 the State Board of Control published a pamphlet entitled "California and the Oriental." This document is a well-proportioned mixture of information and misinformation, truth and falsehood. Some of its misinformation has been pointed out in the preceding chapters. Here let me call attention to the remarkable arithmetical originality displayed by the Report. Venturing upon the discussion of the land and population of Japan, a topic obviously new and unknown to the gentlemen of the Board, the Report courageously proffers the information that Japan is not suffering from over-population or lack of tillable land. As if to clench this statement it goes on to tell us that Hokkaido, the

northern island, is "hardly populated"! Is this just a slip of the pen?

Hokkaido has a population of 2,359,097, and its area is only 30,502 square miles. In the light of the arithmetic taught by our hard-headed school-teachers, not by the romantic Board of Control, this makes 77.3 people to the square mile. If the Board calls Hokkaido, with a density of 77.3 per square mile, "hardly populated," what would it call California? No Man's Land, perhaps! For California, with an area of 158,652 square miles, has only 3,426,536 inhabitants, or 21.5 to the square mile.

But the comparison of California's population per square mile to that of Hokkaido does not reveal the real relative density of the two countries. In the first place Hokkaido is traversed by many mountain ranges, making its area of tillable land extremely small. In the second place, the island is handicapped by rigorous and protracted winters. Because of this climatic condition, farming on its northern slope is not profitable. Considering all these conditions, the density of Hokkaido is much greater than it appears in the above estimate.

Japan proper (that is, exclusive of Korea, Formosa and Saghalien) consists of four main islands, of which Hokkaido just mentioned is one. The areas and populations of these four islands are shown in this table:

<i>Islands</i>	<i>Area, Statesmen's Year Book</i>	<i>Population, Japan's Census, 1920</i>	<i>Population Square Mile</i>
Hondo	87,426	63,987,143	731.9
Shikoku	7,083	3,065,925	432.8
Kiushu	15,703	7,593,345	483.5
Hokkaido	30,502	2,359,097	77.3

You see that Hondo, the mainland, has 731.9 inhabitants to the square mile, Shikoku 432.8, and Kiushu 483.5. The average density for the three islands is, therefore, 549.4. The density of Hokkaido is not very great, but its drawbacks are, as we have already noted, many and serious.

We have noted the density of population in the main islands of Japan proper. But the figures given do not tell the true story of actual conditions. Even school children know that Japan consists of volcanic ranges. The country is virtually filled with mountains, affording but 15,000,000 acres of tillable land, or only 16 per cent. of the total area. This allows each inhabitant only one quarter of an acre of farm land. In California farm land per capita of population is about nine acres. In Great Britain 77 per cent. of its land area is agricultural land; in Italy 76 per cent.; in France 70 per cent., and in Germany 65 per cent.

Because of the peculiar topography of Japan, as we have just noted, the country appears, and as a matter of fact is, much more crowded than may be judged from statistics on paper. No

traveler, not even the most unobserving, can fail to get this impression. Rudyard Kipling gives expression to this common impression when he writes in his "From Sea to Sea," as follows:

"How many people do you suppose the land supports to the square mile?" said the Professor, at a turn in the homeward road. He has been reading statistics.

"Nine hundred," I said at a venture. "It's thicker set with humans than Sarun or Behar. Say one thousand."

"Two thousand two hundred and fifty odd. Can you believe it?"

"Looking at the landscape I can, but I don't suppose India will believe it. S'pose I write fifteen hundred?"

"They'll say you exaggerate just the same. Better stick to the true total. Two thousand two hundred and fifty-six to the square mile, and not a sign of poverty in the houses. How do they do it?"

A few years ago the Japanese Government, pressed by the increasing shortage of land, made a thorough investigation into lands that might be reclaimed. It was found that about 5,000,000 acres might be available for reclamation. Consequently the legislature approved, in 1918, an expenditure of \$2,000,000 on the nine-year program of reclaiming 700,000 acres as an experiment. The government is not at all certain that the

result will be successful, because the people have, under the natural pressure of over-population, already utilized even hillsides and sandy beaches. Meanwhile, it is making great efforts to increase farm produce upon the soil now available. Due to these efforts the yield of crops has increased 35 per cent. from 1894 to 1920. But there is a limit to the productivity of the soil, in spite of all the fertilizing processes the farmer may employ. No wonder that farms in Japan are beginning to show signs of exhaustion. At any rate it is well-nigh impossible to wring a greater yield of crops from the soil now under cultivation.

Let us once more hear what Kipling has to say about Japan—how intensely the country is cultivated, and how the farmer manages to wrest a harvest from a niggardly soil:

“But the countryside was the thing that made us open our eyes. Imagine a land of rich black soil, very heavily manured, and worked by the spade and hoe almost exclusively, and if you split your field (of vision) into half-acre plots, you will get a notion of the raw material the cultivator works on. But all I can write will give you no notion of the wantonness of neatness visible in the fields, of the elaborate system of irrigation and the mathematical precision of the planting. There was no mixing of crops, no waste of boundary in footpath, and no difference of value in the land. The water stood everywhere

within ten feet of the surface, as the well-sweeps attested. On the slopes of the foothills each drop between the levels was neatly riveted with unmortared stones, and the edges of the watercuts were faced in like manner. The young rice was transplanted very much as draughts are laid on the board; the tea might have been cropped garden box; and between the lines of the mustard the water lay in the drills as in a wooden trough, while the purple of the beans ran up to the mustard and stopped as though cut with a rule."

But it is not only the questions of land shortage and over-population that weigh heavily upon Japan. Equally depressing is the fact that she has not within her own confines adequate mineral resources essential to modern industry. She depends almost entirely upon foreign countries for iron ores. Of coal she has little that can be used in the steel industry. But the most serious handicap is the lack of petroleum, a material which is becoming more and more important in transportation and in manufacturing industries. If you watch the chessboard of European and American diplomacy, you cannot fail to see how each nation is trying to outwit the other in gaining control of oil resources in different parts of the world.

And here is Japan, struggling to solve, partly at least, her population problem by becoming an industrial and trading nation, and yet harassed

by lack of three essential materials of industry—oil, iron, and coal. If she steps an inch out of her narrow precincts and tries to obtain, say in Siberia or China, the privilege of working such mineral resources, down comes the sword of Damocles in the shape of protest, official or otherwise, from the Western nations.

In the light of what has been said in the foregoing passages, the fundamental question suggests itself. That question is, is the existing world order right, allowing a few nations to monopolize vast territories and enormous resources, and compelling others to eke out an existence out of their limited lands and scanty resources? In my "Japan in World Politics" (New York, 1917) I discussed this question at some length. The outcome of the peace conference compels me to emphasize, rather than modify, the contentions I advanced in that book.

Let us glance at the map of Asia before the war and compare it with that after the war. Asia's total area measures some 17,206,000 square miles, of which 10,000,000 square miles were before the war controlled by Western Powers as follows:

Russia	6,495,970 square miles
Great Britain	1,998,220 square miles
Holland	586,980 square miles
France	247,580 square miles
United States of America.....	114,370 square miles
Germany	193 square miles

As the outcome of the war the small German possessions in China have been wiped out, but British and French possessions in Asia have increased by more than 100,000 square miles. To-day, therefore, Europe and America control 10,100,000 square miles of Asiatic territories with vast mineral resources.

In view of this condition, I cannot but repeat with emphasis what I said in "Japan in World Politics":

Roughly speaking, the land area of the earth measures 52,825,000 square miles supporting 1,751,700,000 inhabitants.

Of this total area the Caucasian peoples occupy or control about 46,146,084 square miles, comprising Europe, North and South America, Australasia, and most of Africa and Asia. It will be seen that the Caucasian race, having completed the occupation of Europe and the Americas, has conquered and secured control of the whole of Australasia, almost all Africa, the greater part of Asia, as well as the adjacent islands.

And the Caucasian peoples who control so vast a territory number only 623,000,000. In other words, there are only 13.5 Caucasians to each square mile of land.

On the other hand, the native population of Asia number no less than 900,000,000. And yet they control only 6,679,000 square miles of terri-

tory, because Siberia and Turkestan are occupied by Russia, India by Great Britain, and Tonking and Cochin China by France, while Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia and Northern Manchuria, aggregating 2,655,000 square miles, are fast passing under British or Russian control. In other words, there are 134.8 Asiatics to each square mile of Asiatic land.

It may, therefore, be safely said that Asia's 900,000,000 souls have been expropriated of most of their territory and are to-day permitted to possess only 6,679,000 square miles. This, of course, does not mean that Asiatics have been evicted from the Asiatic territories controlled by Europeans, and that 900,000,000 people are actually compelled to live within the area of 6,679,000 square miles, i.e., 134.8 to the square mile.

True it is that the natives of Asia are permitted to continue their habitation in India, Cochin China, Siberia and other Asiatic territories which have passed under the European scepter. But the fact remains that Asiatic nations are, by this process of expropriation, deprived of the opportunity to utilize the vast resources lying at their very doors.

It must be remembered that the Caucasian nations are always on the alert to exclude outside enterprises, and especially those of non-Caucasian peoples, from the territories they control.

Even where they profess to follow the principles of free trade, they set up a barrier against non-Caucasian immigration. Moreover, by reason of their priority and their accumulated wealth, they have so firmly intrenched themselves that outsiders, most of all non-Caucasian outsiders, find little chance to launch new enterprises in competition with them.

It cannot be disputed that colonies, sparsely populated yet rich with resources, are valuable assets to a nation with small, over-populated territory. They relieve the mother country in two ways—they afford shelter to its surplus population, and they enable it to support its population at home more adequately by reason of the stimulation and increase which their products naturally offer to its commerce and industry.

It was the good luck of the Anglo-Saxon race to gather in its lap most of the desirable colonies in the world. Those European nations that came after it in the race for colonial expansion have had to be contented with territories whose value is often doubtful. And the Asiatic nations, which came still later, not only cannot find any oversea territory available for colonization, but have had to offer their own lands upon the altar of Western ambition. The so-called colonies of Japan, Korea and Formosa are in reality not colonies at all, for they are already so well popu-

lated that they offer no room for Japanese settlers.

Here, in a nutshell, is a condition which should not be ignored in any consideration of international problems affecting the peoples of Asia. It is obvious that the great Powers of the West have accumulated more land than they should rightly own—than they can hold without doing injustice to the smaller nations, which find themselves in sad plight, due to the impossibility of finding room for their surplus population. The injustice of holding such vast territories would not be so obvious, if they were to recognize, in favor of the small nations, the principle of unhindered immigration and of unrestricted enterprise within those territories. It is when they erect insurmountable walls around themselves and adopt a hidebound policy of exclusion that they become a menace to the welfare of the human race.

It seems to me that any proposition for permanent peace which fails to take into consideration the present inequitable distribution of territory, cannot be carried out without trampling upon the just claims of the smaller nations. An attempt to build permanent peace upon the *status quo* of the world seems as futile as an attempt to rear a Tower of Babel upon a foundation of sands.

A pacifist program for permanent peace and

disarmament must, if it is not to infringe upon justice, presuppose a radical alteration of the *status quo* of the world which we have briefly described. To permit, on the one hand, the continuation of the existing state of the distribution of territory, and to urge, on the other hand, the adoption of the pacifist program of disarmament, arbitration and permanent peace, is to offer a jewel, too precious to be of any practical value, to those small nations which are crying for bread. Such a proposition will simply benefit the great Powers of the West which have built up great empires of territory and wealth partly at the expense of the weaker peoples of the East, and partly by reason of their priority in the race for colonial expansion.

And yet any proposition to alter the *status quo* along the line I have suggested would at once be condemned by the opulent, contented Powers as a disturbance of the peace. In their eyes a small nation that should dare raise a finger against the present order of things would be a disturbing element, a rebel and an outlaw. When American editors and writers censure Japan's recent activities in China they seem unwittingly to adopt the set views of the great governments of Europe whose interests can best be served in the maintenance of the existing equilibrium in the Far East.

It is obvious that a program to establish per-

manent peace with justice should contain one of two propositions, namely, a more equitable distribution of territory, or the removal of the exclusive policy adopted by Western colonial Powers against Asiatic peoples.

To the staid thinkers of the Occident this must seem a picturesque and Quixotic proposition. It is no more picturesque than were Socialism and trade unionism at their inception. Just as the economic theories, which were, less than a century ago, denounced as visionary and perverted, have since gradually been woven into the practical policies of various nations, so the above proposition will in time be seriously considered, not only by thinkers and theorists, but by practical men of affairs in all parts of the world. Unless we make supreme efforts to realize this ideal we can take but one alternative—the perpetuation of the savage “law of the survival of the fittest,” which is equivalent to the Bismarckian axiom, “*Might is right.*”

This, in short, is the fundamental question. It goes without saying that it cannot be solved by a “gentlemen’s agreement,” an exclusion law, a “percentage” plan, or such palliative measures. As the question is fundamental, its solution must also be fundamental. Can it be done? It must be done, if it takes centuries. The idea is chimerical in the sense that Christianity and all great doctrines are chimerical, no more or no less.

APPENDIX A

WASHINGTON ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

ADOPTED BY STATE LEGISLATURE
MARCH 2, 1921

AN ACT relating to the rights and disabilities of aliens with respect to lands, providing for forfeiture in certain cases, prescribing penalties and repealing Sections 8775 and 8776 of Remington & Ballinger's Annotated Codes and Statutes of Washington.

Section 1. In this act, unless the context otherwise requires,

(a) "Alien" does not include an alien who has in good faith declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, but does include all other aliens and all corporations and other organized groups of persons a majority of whose capital stock is owned or controlled by aliens or a majority of whose members are aliens;

(b) "Land" does not include lands containing valuable deposits of minerals, metals, iron, coal or fire clay or the necessary land for mills and machinery to be used in the development thereof and the manufacture of the products therefrom,

but does include every other kind of land and every interest therein and right to the control, possession, use, enjoyment, rents, issues or profits thereof except a mortgage and except a right to the possession, use or enjoyment of land for a period of not more than ten years for a purpose for which an alien is accorded the use of land by a treaty between the United States and the country whereof he is a citizen;

(c) "Land" also includes any share or interest in a corporation or other organized group of persons deemed an alien in this act which has title to land either heretofore or hereafter acquired;

(d) To "Own" means to have the legal or equitable title to or the right to any benefit of;

(e) "Title" includes every kind of legal or equitable title;

(f) Ownership of or title to land acquired by inheritance or in good faith either under mortgage or in the ordinary course of justice in the collection of debts, or acquired by a female citizen afterwards expatriated by marriage to an alien, is excluded;

(g) "Inheritance" includes devise;

(h) "Mortgage" includes every kind of lien upon land;

(i) A mortgage of land under which an alien is entitled before default to any control, possession, use or enjoyment of the land, is an absolute conveyance; and

(j) "Person" includes an individual, partnership, corporation or any other organized group of persons.

Section 2. An alien shall not own land or take or hold title thereto. No person shall take or hold land or title to land for an alien. Land now held by or for aliens in violation of the constitution of the state is forfeited to and declared to be the property of the state. Land hereafter conveyed to or for the use of aliens in violation of the constitution or of this act shall thereby be forfeited to and become the property of the state.

Section 3. An alien is not qualified to be trustee under a will, executor, administrator or guardian, if any part of the estate is land; Provided, An alien now lawfully acting in any such capacity may continue for not more than two years.

Section 4. If hereafter an alien acquire land by inheritance or in good faith either under mortgage or in the ordinary course of justice in the collection of debts, and, remaining an alien, hold the same for more than twelve years from the date title was so acquired or control or possession taken, the land shall be forfeited to the state.

Section 5. If an alien claiming or holding under a mortgage has control, possession, use or enjoyment of the mortgaged land, the obligation secured by the mortgage shall be deemed matured and the mortgage shall be foreclosed; and if the land be not sold under foreclosure within three years after the alien has obtained control, possession, use or enjoyment, the mortgage and the obligation thereby secured shall be

forfeited to the state and shall be foreclosed for the use of the state.

Section 6. Unless an alien who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States be admitted to citizenship within seven years after his declaration was made, it shall be presumed that he declared his intention in bad faith.

Section 7. Whoever

(a) Knowingly transfers or conveys land or title to land to an alien; or

(b) Knowingly takes land or title to land in trust for an alien; or

(c) Holding in trust for an alien land or title to land, either heretofore or hereafter acquired, fails for thirty days after acquiring knowledge or notice that he holds in trust for an alien to disclose the fact to the attorney general or to the prosecuting attorney of the county where the land is situated; or

(d) Being an alien and having title to land or control, possession, use or enjoyment of land, whether heretofore or hereafter acquired, refuses to disclose to the attorney general or the prosecuting attorney of the county where the land is situated the nature and extent of his interest in and title to the land; or

(e) Being an officer or agent of a corporation or other organized group of persons which has title to land or control, possession, use or enjoyment of land, whether heretofore or hereafter acquired, refuses to disclose to the attorney general or the prosecuting attorney of the county

where the land is situated the nature and extent of the interest of persons not citizens of the United States in the corporation or other organized group of persons; or

(f) Being an officer or agent of a corporation or other organized group of persons which holds in trust for an alien title to land or control or possession of land, whether heretofore or hereafter acquired, refuses to disclose to the attorney general or the prosecuting attorney of the county where the land is situated the nature and extent of the alien's interest in and title to the land; or

(g) Willfully counsels, aids or abets another in violation of or evading this act, is guilty of a gross misdemeanor.

Section 8. It shall be the duty of the attorney general and of the prosecuting attorneys of the several counties to enforce this act, and of the attorney general to direct and control its enforcement.

Section 9. Property forfeited to the state by this act shall inure to the permanent common school fund and be managed and disposed of accordingly.

Section 10. This act shall not impair any title or right heretofore or hereafter acquired from or derived through an alien in good faith and for value by a person not under an alien's disability.

Section 11. If any section or provision of this act shall be adjudged to be invalid or unconstitutional, such adjudication shall not affect the validity of the act as a whole or any section,

provision or part thereof not adjudged invalid or unconstitutional.

Section 12. Sections 8775 and 8776 of Remington & Ballinger's Annotated Codes and Statutes of Washington are hereby repealed.

APPENDIX B

CALIFORNIA ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

ADOPTED BY INITIATIVE
NOVEMBER 2, 1920

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

Sec. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

Sec. 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other

state or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise. Hereafter all aliens other than those specified in section one hereof may become members of or acquire shares of stock in any company, association or corporation that is or may be authorized to acquire, possess, enjoy or convey agricultural land, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

Sec. 4. Hereafter no alien mentioned in section two hereof and no company, association or corporation mentioned in section three hereof, may be appointed guardian of that portion of the estate of a minor which consists of property which such alien or such company, association or corporation is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring by reason of the provisions of this act. The public administrator of the proper county, or any other competent person or corporation, may be appointed guardian of the estate of a minor citizen whose

parents are ineligible to appointment under the provisions of this section.

On such notice to the guardian as the court may require, the superior court may remove the guardian of such an estate whenever it appears to the satisfaction of the court:

(a) That the guardian has failed to file the report required by the provisions of section five hereof; or

(b) That the property of the ward has not been or is not being administered with due regard to the primary interest of the ward; or

(c) That facts exist which would make the guardian ineligible to appointment in the first instance; or

(d) That facts establishing any other legal ground for removal exist.

Sec. 5. (a) The term "trustee" as used in this section means any person, company, association or corporation that as guardian, trustee, attorney-in-fact or agent, or in any other capacity has the title, custody or control of property, or some interest therein, belonging to an alien mentioned in section two hereof, or to the minor child of such an alien, if the property is of such a character that such alien is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring it.

(b) Annually on or before the thirty-first day of January every such trustee must file in the office of the secretary of state of California and in the office of the county clerk of each county in which any of the property is situated, a verified written report showing:

(1) The property, real or personal, held by him for or on behalf of such an alien or minor;

(2) A statement showing the date when each item of such property came into his possession or control;

(3) An itemized account of all expenditures, investments, rents, issues and profits in respect to the administration and control of such property with particular reference to holdings of corporate stock and leases, cropping contracts and other agreements in respect to land and the handling or sale of products thereof.

(c) Any person, company, association or corporation that violates any provision of this section is guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

(d) The provisions of this section are cumulative and are not intended to change the jurisdiction or the rules of practice of courts of justice.

Sec. 6. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee cannot take real property in this state or membership or shares of stock in a company, association or corporation which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of property and the pro-

ceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such property.

Sec. 7. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of, the State of California. The attorney general or district attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section four hundred seventy-four of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner. No alien, company, association or corporation mentioned in section two or section three hereof shall hold for a longer period than two years the possession of any agricultural land acquired in the enforcement of or in satisfaction of a mortgage or other lien hereafter made or acquired in good faith to secure a debt.

Sec. 8. Any leasehold or other interest in real

property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general or district attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section seven of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the state for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section twelve hundred seventy-one of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the state shall be paid into the state treasury and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein. Any share of stock or the interest of any member in a company, association or corporation hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of section three of this act shall escheat to the State of California. Such escheat shall be adjudged and enforced in the same manner as provided in this section for the escheat of a leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee.

Sec. 9. Every transfer of real property, or of

an interest therein, though colorable in form, shall be void as to the state and the interest thereby conveyed or sought to be conveyed shall escheat to the state if the property interest involved is of such a character that an alien mentioned in section two hereof is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring it, and if the conveyance is made with intent to prevent, evade or avoid escheat as provided for herein.

A prima facie presumption that the conveyance is made with such intent shall arise upon proof of any of the following groups of facts:

(a) The taking of the property in the name of a person other than the persons mentioned in section two hereof if the consideration is paid or agreed or understood to be paid by an alien mentioned in section two hereof;

(b) The taking of the property in the name of a company, association or corporation, if the memberships or shares of stock therein held by aliens mentioned in section two hereof, together with the memberships or shares of stock held by others but paid for or agreed or understood to be paid for by such aliens, would amount to a majority of the membership or the issued capital stock of such company, association or corporation;

(c) The execution of a mortgage in favor of an alien mentioned in section two hereof if said mortgagee is given possession, control or management of the property.

The enumeration in this section of certain pre-

sumptions shall not be so construed as to preclude other presumptions or inferences that reasonably may be made as to the existence of intent to prevent, evade or avoid escheat as provided for herein.

Sec. 10. If two or more persons conspire to effect a transfer of real property, or of an interest therein, in violation of the provisions hereof, they are punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or state penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 11. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the state to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this state.

Sec. 12. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict with the provisions hereof are hereby repealed; provided, that—

(a) This act shall not affect pending actions or proceedings, but the same may be prosecuted and defended with the same effect as if this act had not been adopted;

(b) No cause of action arising under any law of this state shall be affected by reason of the adoption of this act whether an action or proceeding has been instituted thereon at the time of the taking effect of this act or not and actions may be brought upon such causes in the same manner, under the same terms and conditions, and with the same effect as if this act had not been adopted;

(c) This act in so far as it does not add to, take from or alter an existing law, shall be construed as a continuation thereof.

Sec. 13. The legislature may amend this act in furtherance of its purpose and to facilitate its operation.

Sec. 14. If any section, subsection, sentence, clause or phrase of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The people hereby declare that they would have passed this act, and each section, subsection, sentence, clause and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more other sections, subsections, sentences, clauses or phrases be declared unconstitutional.

APPENDIX C

STATISTICAL TABLES

RELATIVE TO JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII AND ON THE PACIFIC COAST

TABLE 1
JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO HAWAII AND PACIFIC
COAST STATES

(Figures from Reports of Commissioner General of Immigration.)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Hawaii</i>	<i>California</i>	<i>Oregon</i>	<i>Washington</i>
1902	9,125	2,518	130	2,419
1903	13,045	4,511	329	1,820
1904	6,590	4,003	318	2,446
1905	6,692	2,022	279	1,200
1906	9,051	2,068	398	1,619
1907	20,865	3,691	447	3,226
1908	9,153	2,730	376	3,266
1909	1,679	925	44	399
1910	1,239	898	63	338
1911	1,883	1,651	131	495
1912	2,816	2,004	171	643
1913	4,062	2,616	272	747
1914	3,817	3,312	249	838
1915	2,625	4,190	216	792
1916	2,797	4,042	236	678
1917	3,178	3,529	262	807
1918	2,856	4,164	305	1,202
1919	2,384	4,431	215	1,302
1920	2,138	3,933	308	1,507

NOTE:—These figures include both immigrants and non-immigrants. Gradual increase of arrivals to the Pacific Coast since 1911 is partly due to increasing number of Japanese women coming to join their husbands settled here. See also note to Table 4.

TABLE 2
POPULATION OF HAWAII CLASSIFIED ACCORDING
TO RACE

Figures of 1920 Federal Census.

<i>Race</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>Increase since 1910</i>
Hawaiian	23,723	26,041	*2,318
Asiatic Hawaiian	6,955	3,734	3,221
Caucasian Hawaiian	11,072	8,772	2,300
Portuguese	27,002	22,301	4,701
Porto Rican	5,602	4,890	712
Spanish	2,432	1,990	442
Other Caucasian	19,708	14,867	4,841
Chinese	23,507	21,674	1,833
Japanese	109,274	79,675	29,599
Filipino	21,031	2,361	18,670
Korean	4,950	4,533	417
Negro	346	695	*349
All other	310	376	*66
Total	255,912	191,909	64,003

* Decrease

TABLE 3
JAPANESE POPULATION IN THIRTEEN WESTERN
STATES

<i>States</i>	<i>Area Sq. Miles</i>	<i>Total Population Census, 1920</i>	<i>Japanese Population</i>	
			<i>Census, 1920</i>	<i>Japanese Association Figures, 1920</i>
California	155,652	3,426,536	70,196	71,033
Oregon	95,607	783,389	4,022	4,302
Washington	66,836	1,356,316	17,114	17,000
Idaho	83,354	431,826	1,731	1,939
Wyoming	97,594	194,402		976
Montana	146,201	547,593		2,000
Utah	82,184	449,446		3,317
Colorado	103,658	939,376		3,047
Nebraska	76,808	1,295,502		500
Arizona	113,810	333,273		669
Texas	262,398	4,661,027		500
New Mexico	122,503	360,247		100
Nevada	109,821	77,407		426

TABLE 4

JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO AND DEPARTURES FROM
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES*(Official Figures of Commissioner General of Immigration.)*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Arrivals</i>	<i>Departures</i>
1908	9,544	4,796
1909	2,432	5,004
1910	2,598	5,024
1911	4,285	5,869
1912	5,358	5,437
1913	6,771	5,647
1914	8,462	6,300
1915	9,029	5,967
1916	9,100	6,922
1917	9,150	6,581
1918	11,143	7,691
1919	11,404	8,328
1920	12,868	11,662

NOTE:—The decline of figures in 1909 is the result of the working of the “gentlemen’s agreement.” The “gentlemen’s agreement” admits (1) former residents of the United States, (2) parents, wives and children of residents, and (3) settled agriculturists. This is, of course, in addition to non-laboring Japanese, such as diplomats, merchants, financiers, students, etc., who are free to come.

Increase of Japanese arrivals in the past several years is due to these facts:

(1) Due to the war Japanese officials, business men, etc., going to Europe, have passed through the United States. The figures for such Japanese must be twice the actual number, because they are counted once at Pacific ports upon arrival of those Japanese from Japan, and counted again at Atlantic ports upon their return there from Europe.

(2) The war obliged Japanese students, who would have gone to Europe in normal times, to come to the United States.

(3) The enormous increase of American-Japanese trade by the war caused many Japanese firms to send agents to America and to establish branch offices and agencies in San Francisco, Seattle, New York and other leading American cities. Many of the office forces brought their families with them. These naturally increased Japanese arrivals.

In 1914 Japan imported from America \$54,000,000 worth of commodities. In 1918 this increased to \$275,000,000. In other words, Japanese purchases from America increased more than fivefold in five years. In the same period Japanese exports to America increased three times.

TABLE 5
JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED UNDER THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

<i>Year</i>	<i>Former Residents Returning</i>	<i>Wives Admitted</i>	<i>Children Admitted</i>	<i>Laborers With Proper Passports Returning</i>
1909	850	665	275	295
1910	838	880	268	245
1911	1,202	1,669	513	351
1912	1,869	2,108	538	602
1913	2,873	2,398	642	1,175
1914	3,852	3,015	786	1,514
1915	4,063	2,672	1,269	1,545
1916	4,150	2,478	1,325	1,695
1917	4,128	2,397	1,432	1,647
1918	4,958	2,824	1,685	1,774
1919	4,096	3,192	1,685	1,265
1920	5,199	3,817	1,488	2,604

TABLE 6
JAPANESE ARRIVALS CLASSIFIED AS LABORERS AND NON-LABORERS

(Official Figures of Commissioner General of Immigration.)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Laborers</i>	<i>Non-Laborers</i>
1909	675	1,757
1910	589	1,909
1911	726	3,556
1912	894	4,464
1913	1,371	5,400
1914	1,762	6,700
1915	2,214	6,815
1916	2,958	6,142
1917	2,838	6,321
1918	2,604	8,539
1919	2,278	9,126
1920	3,682	9,186

NOTE:—The “gentlemen’s agreement” prohibits the admission of “new” laborers from Japan, but admits Japanese of the following three classes, whether laborer or non-laborer: (1) Former residents, who return to America within 18 months following their departure from America. (2) Parents, wives and children of Japanese residing in America. (3) Japanese who have settled in America as agriculturists.

The Japanese Government, of course, makes it a rule not to issue passports to laborers other than those coming under the above classification. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a laborer from a non-laborer. The Japanese Government may issue a passport to a Japanese whom it believes, upon inquiry, to be a non-laborer, but in the judgment of the American immigration authorities this same Japanese may be regarded as a laborer. Such cases are quite conceivable.

Many laborers in this table have departed for Japan, but figures for departing laborers are not obtainable, because the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration do not classify departures to laborers and non-laborers.

TABLE 7

JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED AS MALES AND FEMALES

(Reports of Commissioner General of Immigration.)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
1909	1,777	867	2,644
1910	1,648	1,039	2,687
1911	2,377	1,905	4,282
1912	2,930	2,428	5,358
1913	4,012	2,759	6,771
1914	5,034	3,428	8,462
1915	5,542	3,487	9,029
1916	5,869	3,231	9,100
1917	5,833	3,326	9,159
1918	7,100	4,043	11,143
1919	7,034	4,370	11,404
1920	7,630	5,238	12,868

NOTE:—The above figures include minors.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of these women are so-called “picture brides.” In the next table (Table 8) figures are given for the “picture brides” who have entered the United States through the port of San Francisco. Figures for other ports are not obtainable.

The majority of these women are wives who married before their husbands left Japan for this country, and who, therefore, are not "picture brides."

TABLE 8
JAPANESE WIVES (SO-CALLED PICTURE BRIDES)
ENTERING THROUGH SAN FRANCISCO
AND SEATTLE

*(Compiled by Japanese Associations at San Francisco and Seattle,
from the Record of the San Francisco and Seattle
Immigration Offices.)*

Year	San Francisco	Seattle	Total
1912	879	...	879
1913	625	...	625
1914	768	...	768
1915	823	150	973
1916	486	144	630
1917	504	206	710
1918	520	281	801
1919	668	267	935
1920	697	...*	697
	5,970	1,048	7,018

* The figures for Seattle for 1920 are not yet available.

NOTE:—When a man living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons from going home, he writes to his parents and asks them to find a suitable woman for his bride. The parents, following the usual custom and rules, fix on an eligible person. Then they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health and education of the young man and woman. If this investigation proves satisfactory, both to the parents and to the prospective groom and bride, the man in America sends his photograph to the woman, and receives her photograph in exchange. This "interview" through photographs proving satisfactory to both parties, the nuptial knot is tied at a ceremonial dinner in which the groom, living in America, is naturally absent, but which is attended by the bride and the parents and relatives of both sides. This done, the parents register the marriage with the proper authorities.

This marriage has been regarded as valid both by the Japanese and American Governments. This practice was abolished February 25, 1920, by the Japanese Government.

TABLE 9
JAPANESE POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA

A—Figures obtained October, 1920, by the Japanese Association of America

Men	34,797
Women	15,714
Boys under 16 years	10,693
Girls under 16 years.....	9,829
Total	71,033

B—Federal Census of 1920

Male	44,364
Female	25,832
Total	70,196

In a statement issued November 15, 1920, Director of the Federal Census gives the following facts:

The population of California for 1920 is 3,426,861, of which 70,196 are Japanese. The figures for 1910 were: total population 2,377,549, Japanese 41,356.

The Japanese population constituted 2 per cent. of the total population in 1920, 1.7 per cent. in 1910. The increase in the Japanese population since 1910 was 28,840, or 69.7 per cent.

TABLE 10
JAPANESE POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA (EXCEPT
NINE SOUTHERN COUNTIES) CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS

(Figures obtained October, 1920, by the Japanese Association of America)

Professionals	455
Students	395
Business	2,772
Agriculturists	4,633
Farm laborers	10,982
Mechanics	121
Fishing	147
Laborers other than agricultural	1,628
Miscellaneous	257
Women and children	21,784
Occupation not mentioned	448
Total	43,622

TABLE 11
JAPANESE BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN CALIFORNIA
(Official figures of State Board of Health)

Year	Births	Deaths
1908	455	431
1909	682	450
1910	719	440
1911	995	472
1912	1,467	524
1913	2,215	613
1914	2,874	628
1915	3,342	663
1916	3,721	729
1917	4,108	910
1918	4,218	1,545
1919	4,458	1,113
1920	4,829*	995*

* Incomplete returns, subject to correction.

NOTE:—The rate of increase in Japanese births shown in this table is abnormal, and will soon decline. The sudden increase in

1912 is due to the fact that about that time Japanese men in California began to marry. Since then a majority of men who intended to marry have married. Consequently in a few years the rate of increase in Japanese births from year to year will begin to decline. This point must be borne in mind in examining this and the following tables.

It is estimated by the Japanese Association of America that from 1908 to 1920 Japanese wives in California, including "picture brides," increased at a yearly average of 1,000, while the average yearly increase of Japanese births in the same period was 465. This shows that even at present the tendency is for decrease of births. According to the same estimate, the average age of Japanese adults is about 40. Within a few years, therefore, Japanese births will show marked decrease.

TABLE 12
PERCENTAGE OF JAPANESE BIRTHS TO THE TOTAL
BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA AS COMPARED WITH
THAT OF WHITE BIRTHS

(Official figures of State Board of Health)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Percentage of Japanese Births to Total Births</i>	<i>Percentage of White Births to Total Births</i>
1908	1.6	96.8
1909	2.2	96.3
1910	2.24	96.13
1911	2.86	95.45
1912	3.73	94.57
1913	5.05	93.19
1914	6.25	91.89
1915	6.95	91.26
1916	7.35	91.38
1917	7.87	90.59
1918	7.57	91.17
1919	7.82	90.86
1920	7.21*	89.09*

** Incomplete returns, subject to correction.*

TABLE 13
JAPANESE BIRTHS COMPARED WITH WHITE BIRTHS
IN CALIFORNIA

(Official figures of State Board of Health)

Year	Total Births, Including all Races	White Births	Japanese Births
1908	28,077	27,190	455
1909	30,882	29,736	682
1910	32,138	30,893	719
1911	34,426	33,245	995
1912	39,330	37,194	1,467
1913	43,852	40,864	2,215
1914	46,012	42,281	2,874
1915	48,075	43,874	3,342
1916	50,638	46,272	3,721
1917	52,230	47,314	4,108
1918	55,922	50,986	4,218
1919	56,019	50,898	4,458
1920	66,955*	59,655*	4,829*

* Incomplete returns, subject to correction.

TABLE 14
JAPANESE BIRTH RATE IN HAWAII COMPARED WITH
THAT AMONG OTHER RACES

(Figures from Reports of Registrar General of Board of Health,
Territory of Hawaii)

	Per 1,000
Spaniards	59.59
Oriental-Natives	57.29
White-Natives	52.23
Porto Rican	42.11
Portuguese	39.16
Japanese	37.10
Koreans	30.44
Chinese	28.28
Natives	24.75
Filipinos	15.52
Americans and British	13.14

TABLE 15
COMPARATIVE REPRODUCTIVE FREQUENCY OF WHITES AND JAPANESE IN 1920
(Figures compiled by E. L. Ross, Director, Bureau of Vital Statistics, California State Board of Health, March 11, 1921)

Live Births Classified by Number of Previous Births to Same Mother											
No. Previous Births....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over	Total Live Births
White Live Births*.....	27,728	14,658	8,859	5,257	3,196	2,021	1,378	922	610	1,016	59,655
Japanese Live Births*..	1,427	1,230	952	620	340	145	62	30	12	11	4,829

* *Incomplete returns, subject to correction.*

B—PERCENTAGE BASED UPON THE ABOVE FIGURES

<i>Percentage of Live Births Classified by the Above Figures for Previous Births to Same Mother</i>											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over	Total
No. Previous Births....											
White Live Births.....	36.4	24.6	14.9	8.8	5.4	3.4	2.3	1.5	1.0	1.7	100%
Japanese Live Births...	29.7	25.5	19.7	12.8	7.0	3.0	1.3	0.6	0.2	0.2	100%

NOTE: From the above figures Director Ross, of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, estimates the average white family (parents plus children) at 4.67 persons, and the average Japanese family at 4.63 persons. This shows that, contrary to indiscriminate statements published in newspapers, the average size of the Japanese family is slightly smaller than that of the white family.

TABLE 16
RECORD OF BIRTHS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY, OUT-
SIDE THE INCORPORATED CITIES

(Figures of County Health Officer)

	1916		1917		1918		1919	
	No.	Perct.	No.	Perct.	No.	Perct.	No.	Perct.
White	843	55.5	830	52.8	828	55.0	776	52.6
Japanese .	475	31.2	541	34.4	413	27.4	418	28.3
Mexican ..	193	12.7	196	12.5	258	17.1	276	18.9
Others ...	8	.5	4	.2	4	.2	4	.2
Total...	1,519		1,571		1,503		1,474	

TABLE 17
LAND CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(Figures obtained October 1, 1920, by Japanese Agricultural Association of California)

Classification	Acreage
Owned by individuals.....	26,988
Owned by American corporations with Japanese share-holders	47,781
Cultivated by Japanese under cash rent lease.....	192,150
Cultivated by Japanese under crop-share contract.....	121,000
Cultivated by Japanese under labor contract.....	70,137
Total	458,056

NOTE:—According to our investigations made in 1909, farms cultivated by Japanese in that year totaled 195,948 acres. The increase in the last eleven years, in our estimate, therefore, is 117 per cent.

In most cases the Japanese have taken up waste lands, considered by American farmers to be unsuited for profitable farming. When the Japanese, by dint of their industry, intelligence and efficiency, prove the worth of such lands, the value and price of adjoining lands increases phenomenally. This has been the case at Livingston, Fresno, Florin and in Butte County.

Again they have specialized in certain kinds of farming, usually avoided by American farmers, and therefore do not come in competition with the latter.

TABLE 18

A—TOTAL LAND AND FARM AREA OF CALIFORNIA
COMPARED WITH ACREAGE CULTIVATED
BY JAPANESE

(Figures obtained October 1, 1920, by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California)

Total land area in California.....	99,617,280 acres
Area owned by Japanese.....	74,769 acres
Total farm land in California.....	27,931,444 acres
Acreage farmed by Japanese.....	458,056 acres

B—PERCENTAGE OF LAND CULTIVATED BY
JAPANESE

(Figures obtained October 1, 1920, by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California)

California land area.....	100.00%
Acreage owned by Japanese.....	.07%
Farm land in California.....	100.00%
Acreage farmed by Japanese.....	1.64%

TABLE 19
ACREAGE OF JAPANESE FARM AND ORCHARD
(Figures compiled March, 1921, by Japanese Agricultural Association)

<i>Product</i>	<i>Acreage by Japanese</i>	<i>Total Acreage by All</i>	<i>Per cent. of Japanese Total Acreage</i>	<i>Value of Products by Japanese</i>
Berries	6,100	6,700	91%	\$3,660,000
Onions	9,500	11,700	81.2%	1,045,000
Asparagus	10,300	15,900	65.4%	1,854,000
Green vegetables.	44,500	75,400†	58.8%	10,235,000
Celery	3,000	5,630†	53.3%	660,000
Sugar beets	51,300	123,500	41.5%	4,617,000
Cantaloupes	12,000	28,500	40%	2,400,000
Tomatoes	7,500	18,860*	39%	525,000
Nursery and seeds	15,200	41,600	36.5%	2,280,000
Rice	37,830	162,000	23.3%	728,000
Potatoes	18,500	95,000	19.5%	3,237,500
Grapes (in bear- ing)	56,000	360,000†	15.6%	16,800,000
Beans	40,000	285,000†	14%	480,000
Hops	1,260	12,000	10.5%	772,380
Corn	8,000	90,000	8.8%	320,000
Fruits and nuts (in bearing)...	47,500	735,000	6.5%	5,937,500
Cotton	13,000	298,000	4.3%	637,000
Hay, grain, etc.	350,000	4,250,000	.0%	2,025,000

* Cannery. † 1918.

NOTE:—Figures for acreage cultivated by Japanese are obtained by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California. Figures for total acreage are obtained from the official reports of the State Board of Agriculture and of the California Development Board.

This table shows the fields specialized by Japanese farmers. They have taken up the kinds of farming shunned by white farmers, such as berry, celery and asparagus culture, which require a stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming. The percentage of Japanese acreage is very small in such farming as grain, hay, corn, fruit and nut

culture, which does not require hard manual labor. In such fields American farmers are predominant. The table shows that the Japanese farmers do not compete with the American farmers. The Japanese simply filled the gap created by the unwillingness of the other farmers to engage themselves in certain kinds of farming.

TABLE 20

JAPANESE IN FISHING INDUSTRY

NATIVITY OF FISHERMEN IN CALIFORNIA—1919-1920

(Figures obtained by California Fish and Game Commissioner)

The United States	1,482	29.1%
Japan	1,287	25.3%
Italy	1,227	24.1%
Austria	288	5.7%
All other nationalities	803	15.8%
<hr/>		
Total	5,087	100.0%

NOTE:—According to the Southern California Japanese Fishermen's Association there were, in 1918, 235 Japanese boats at San Pedro District; in 1919, 213; in 1920, 168; showing the decrease in number annually.

TABLE 21

AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED TO U. S. WAR LOANS BY
JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(Approximate estimate by the Japanese Association of America)

First Loan	\$ 250,000
Second Loan	280,000
Third Loan	838,800
Fourth Loan	750,000
Fifth Loan	530,000
<hr/>	

Total \$2,648,800

NOTE:—A very large percentage of Japanese in California have joined the American Red Cross, although figures of such Japanese are not obtainable. In Contra Costa County, for example, it is said that almost all Japanese families have become members of the Red Cross.

There were only a few American-born Japanese old enough to join the American army during the war. As far as we are able to ascertain, about twenty Japanese enrolled in the army and were sent to the front.

TABLE 22
JAPANESE POPULATION IN WASHINGTON AND
MONTANA

(Figures obtained by Japanese Association, Seattle, July, 1920)

Year	Seattle		Tacoma		Other Places		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1916	3,800	1,570	970	320	9,270	1,820	14,040	3,710
1917	3,860	1,605	1,005	354	9,120	1,985	13,985	3,944
1918	3,977	1,543	1,070	316	9,212	2,050	14,259	3,909
1919	4,323	2,342	1,151	347	9,206	2,163	14,680	4,852
1920	4,766	2,738	1,176	439	9,340	2,143	15,282	5,320

TABLE 23
JAPANESE FARMS IN WASHINGTON

(Figures obtained by Japanese Association, Seattle, July, 1921)

Potatoes and hay	9,549 acres leased
Truck garden	4,470 acres leased
Berries	2,032 acres leased
<hr/>	
Total	16,060 acres leased

TABLE 24
JAPANESE DAIRY FARMERS IN WASHINGTON

(Figures obtained by Japanese Association, Seattle, July, 1921)

	Caucasians	Japanese
Dairy Farmers	8,500	87
Acreage Leased	350,000	6,595
Milch Cows	145,000	4,531
Milk Produced	126,495,000 gals.	4,245,547 gals.

TABLE 25
JAPANESE HOG RANCHERS IN WASHINGTON

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. Ranchers</i>	<i>No. Hogs</i>
1910.....	29	8,500
1911.....	15	4,100
1912.....	16	4,200
1913.....	14	3,500
1914.....	12	3,400
1915.....	12	3,300
1916.....	10	2,900
1917.....	10	2,800
1918.....	8	2,400
1919.....	8	2,450
1920.....	7	1,550





